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The

South Atlantic Quarterly

EDITED BY

WILLIAM K. BOYD and WILLIAM H. WANNAMAKER

JULY, 1920

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The
Sewanee Review
QUARTERLY

EDITED BY JOHN M. MCBRYDE, JR.

SUPPORTED in 1892, *The Sewanee Review* has steadily and consistently maintained its policy, announced in the first issue, of being a serious literary and critical journal. Avoiding all temptation to court wider popularity through mere timeliness in its articles, it has ever sought to serve as a repository of the literary essay and the critical review.

For the past ten years the magazine has drawn its contributions from a wide extent of country, representing thirty-eight states of the Union as well as England and Japan. New York leads with a total of thirty-three contributions out of a total of two hundred and sixty-four; but nearly forty-five per cent have come from the South, so that the magazine has contributed its share towards helping to encourage and develop independence of thought, to mould public opinion, to raise the standards of taste and literary expression, and to reflect the best tendencies in the culture and the life of the Southern people. Though not unnaturally a large majority of the contributors have come from the colleges, *The Review* has not been merely an academic organ, but has covered a broad field of literature, art, history, economics, theology, and current questions, and has always tried to approach these subjects in a dignified manner, free from prejudice and undue partisanship.

The Sewanee Review is conducted by members of the Faculties of the University of the South, Sewanee, Tennessee, but has no official connection with the University.

Volume XIX JULY, 1920 Number 3

The South Atlantic Quarterly

Fighting Adult Illiteracy in North Carolina

FRONDE KENNEDY,
Trinity College.

Until very recent years the people of the southern states carried their high percentage of illiteracy as a part of the white man's burden, irksome yet inescapable. But a spirit of restiveness under it developed with the realization that it was a menace of rapidly increasing proportions. The opening of closer communication with the mountain section and the exodus from the mountains and the farms to the mills which accompanied the industrial expansion emphasized the fact that not on the negro alone, but to a considerable extent on the tenant farmer and the isolated mountaineer lay the responsibility for what was beginning to be recognized as a curse and blight. Certain activities of the mountaineers and the susceptibility of the negroes and the ignorant cotton mill operatives to the wiles of demagogues and labor agitators emphasized the hazards to a society which tolerated conditions that allowed such developments. All over the South leaders awoke to a sense of danger. Consequently when Mrs. Cora W. Stewart of Kentucky in 1911 hit on the scheme of "Moonlight Schools," her experiment was eagerly watched and imitated in other states.

North Carolina was one of the earliest and most enthusiastic of them. Her county superintendents during their annual session in 1914 agreed to organize "Moonlight Schools" wherever they could. In 1915 the State Department of Public Instruction issued a pamphlet, prepared by W. C. Crosby, Secretary to the Committee on Community Service of the North Carolina Conference for Social Service, which set before

North Carolinians the facts about illiteracy in their state together with very definite plans for its elimination. After describing Mrs. Stewart's work and the success of the plan in North Carolina in the year just ended, when eighty-two schools had enrolled more than sixteen hundred adult illiterates, Mr. Crosby made the plea: "Kentucky, led on by the spirit and inspiration of a woman, has preëmpted the first place in this glorious work. North Carolina may be second; indeed she may even yet outstrip Kentucky and be the first to reach the coveted goal of every person in the state reads and writes in 1920."

These first plans proposed close coöperation between the State Department of Public Instruction and all the agencies for social service in the state. Every county was to have an organized committee made up of the county superintendent of schools, the farm demonstration agent, the secretary or president of the county Farmers' Union, a representative of the Junior Order of American Mechanics, and a representative of the women's clubs of the county. These members were to be empowered to add to their number such other members as local conditions made advisable. The county committee was to appoint a local committee for each school district in the county, including in it always the teacher, the chairman of the local school board, the president of the local Farmer's Union, and two or three public-spirited citizens, one at least a woman. These committees were to set apart one month to be known as "Moonlight School Month" and to organize forces to secure publicity and support of the movement. Pledge cards for volunteer teachers were to be distributed at the teachers' institutes during the summer.

Leading influential organizations in the state were definitely pledged to coöperate in the work. Mr. Crosby's bulletin included keynote addresses made by the presidents of the State Teachers' Assembly, the State Farmers' Union, the North Carolina Sunday School Association, the North Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs, and the State Councilor of the Junior Order of United American Mechanics. Each of these addresses presented to the members of these different organizations specific plans for coöperation in the movement. In July, 1915, while this bulletin was in press, Superintendent

Joyner made an address before the State Press Association asking for coöperation from the newspapers. He received hearty responses, the Association adopting a resolution to give editorial endorsement and encouragement and to devote space every week to material to be used in the schools and to mail a copy of their papers to each of the pupils enrolled in "Moonlight Schools."

With such cheering pledges of support the State Department of Education proceeded with its appointed task of leadership. It was not long before Mr. Joyner realized the necessity of a business-like administration of the work. In his biennial report for the years 1914-1915 and 1915-1916, he said: "I do not feel that it would be right to call upon the poorly paid, hard-worked public school teachers of the state to continue to give their services without compensation to this work of teaching night schools for illiterates, nor do I believe that this work could be efficiently and permanently conducted under a volunteer plan, therefore I have recommended for its continuance an appropriation by the state to be duplicated by the county and the community. With the aid of such an appropriation I confidently believe that adult illiteracy can be practically wiped out within the next few years." The appropriation of \$25,000 was voted by the legislature. Another step toward the systematization of the work was the employment of Miss Elizabeth Kelly, in August, 1917, to be Director of Schools for Adult Illiterates.

Miss Kelly carried to her new undertaking great enthusiasm and energy and a fund of first-hand knowledge of educational and social conditions in North Carolina. She formulated very definite plans of procedure and called on the county superintendents for aid in executing them. She sent them census blanks for making illiteracy surveys, directed their attention to the valuable assistance available from the several organizations pledged to aid the campaign, urged the employment in each county of one woman for her whole time to coördinate the efforts of the various agencies at work in each county and direct the schools, and again and again emphasized the importance of perseverance. She addressed earnest appeals to the negro supervisors employed under the Jeanes Fund to coöperate

with the county superintendents and to be especially on their guard against letting in incompetent teachers. To teachers she wrote explicitly of plans projected for a midsummer drive against illiteracy, describing how to arrange for teaching adults and stating definitely the provisions for remunerating such teaching. For each class of ten illiterates above fourteen years of age the state was to give the teacher twenty dollars and the county an equal amount for a month's teaching, with twelve lessons in the month. Additional pupils were to be paid for at a rate of four dollars each for a month. The suggestion was made that a teacher might arrange to have two schools running at the same time in adjacent communities, each meeting three nights weekly. The reason for this was the fact that many of the pupils had regular meetings of lodges or unions or prayer meetings to attend on some nights. A book entitled *Twelve Lessons in Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic, Designed for Use in Teaching Adults in North Carolina* was provided for use in schools for adults.

The evolution of Miss Kelly's official title through the stages of *Director of Schools for Adult Illiterates* and *Director of Schools for Adults* to its present *Director of Community Schools for Adults* seems to indicate a deepening of human sympathy and an infusion into the work of what has come to be called "Americanization." From a mere effort to remove from North Carolina the stigma of illiteracy the department has taken upon itself the task of bringing in to the feast of civic life those who have fasted in the by-ways and hedges or fed on crumbs. Not merely reading and writing and arithmetic, but the fostering of community spirit, the teaching of health and thrift, engross the teachers of Miss Kelly's schools. She refused her consent to the proposal that her teachers be subjected to examinations and tests or be required to hold some specified certificate. She believes that zeal and sympathetic insight into the minds of the adult pupils are the indispensable requirements for success in teaching them. In her booklet of instructions to the teachers she says: "Our main purpose in the work of reducing illiteracy in North Carolina is to help all illiterates realize their worth as citizens, each in his own community, state, and nation; and as such to provide

means by which they may attain to the best possible citizenship. . . . For these citizens of North Carolina let us in some measure provide opportunities which have been denied them and by which they may come into their own as intelligent members of a responsible citizenship."

Legislation has kept steady pace with the development of the work. During the school year 1915-1916, 997 schools, enrolling about 10,000 illiterates, were taught without pay. During the next year, on the recommendation of Superintendent Joyner, the General Assembly provided that the teachers be paid and a director be employed. In spite of the fact that much of the energy of those employed in the work was at first occupied in organization, 3,593 illiterates were taught by 242 teachers at a cost to the state of about \$1.25 for each illiterate. Reports for the next year, not yet published, will show, in spite of the hindrances of the war activities and influenza epidemics and shortage of teachers, that the work "carried on." Now it is developing rapidly, and Miss Kelly has plans for a vigorous campaign during the summer of 1920. The appropriation of the General Assembly in 1917 was \$25,000 "for conducting schools to teach adult illiterates with suitable provision for supporting and organizing these schools." In 1919 the General Assembly passed an "Act to make all schools organized to teach adult illiterates a part of the State public school system." It provided that such schools should be supported as other schools of the state are supported; that is, with a six months' term in every public school district. By its provisions county superintendents are required upon direction from the State Superintendent of Public Instruction to provide annually in the county budget, unless otherwise provided, a sum necessary to teach the adult illiterates in accordance with public school regulations; and a like sum is appropriated from "the Public School Fund." It also authorizes an annual appropriation not to exceed \$5,000 for the organization and direction of such work under the authority of the State Superintendent. If the so-called "Kenyon Americanization Bill" now pending in Congress is passed, North Carolina will be in a position to avail herself immediately of the Federal aid for which it makes provision. This bill is described in the Congressional Record as

intended: "To promote Americanization by providing for co-operation with the several states in the education of non-English-speaking persons and the assimilation of foreign-born residents, and for other purposes." The money appropriated is to be apportioned by the Secretary of the Interior among the several states in a pre-determined ratio, but no state may receive its apportionment unless it provides for the teaching of English at least two hundred hours each year to all residents who are citizens of the United States and all aliens of more than six months residence who are between sixteen and forty-five years old and unable to understand, speak, read, or write the English language. If this bill is passed as it stands and North Carolina meets its conditions, it should be easily possible for Miss Kelly to win her campaign by 1930, since it entails compulsory attendance on the schools by illiterates.

To one interested in this fight a visit to Miss Kelly's office in the Department of Public Instruction in Raleigh is well worth while. There one may see copies of the many circular letters of instruction and encouragement and appeal sent out during the past three years to county superintendents, Jeanes supervisors, presidents of women's clubs, mill owners, and farmers' unions. One big piece of clerical work done in this office was the tabulation of the names of the men who made their mark instead of writing their names in the draft, and the distribution of the lists among the county superintendents with specific instructions how to organize efforts to reach such men and get them into the schools. Illumination is thrown on one of Miss Kelly's handicaps by the following extract from one of these letters: "A goodly bit of money and much time and careful work have gone into the preparation of this list of names, and so I am asking you to use the list for the purpose for which it was intended rather than for stuffing your waste basket or kindling a rainy-day fire—experience has taught me that either or both of the above things may happen in a county superintendent's office."

The department provides regulation forms for the teachers' reports, and on one of them an entire page is left for the record of work done to enlarge enrollment and of work done in the community outside of school work. Some of these re-

ports make fascinating reading. For example, Mr. A. F. Corbin, of Polk County, reported among his activities in one community between March 3 and March 28, teaching ten hours daily, making two hundred and five calls, visiting in the homes of the community and urging girls to help their parents, gathering Indians curios along the Pacolet river for the Tryon Museum, making speeches before farmers' meetings on soil improvement and other subjects, singing and playing the organ at public gatherings, getting jobs for some of the people, writing an article for *The Survey* on "Americanization and Patriotism in Polk County," and selling spectacles. And startling as this last-named item may sound, it may justifiably be said that nothing else the man ever did more became him! In many of the letters of the superintendents emphasis was laid on the importance of tactfulness in dealing with adult illiterates. Mr. Corbin has it; he convinces his illiterate friends that poor eyesight may account for their never having learned to read, and then he sells them for ten cents some spectacles (warranted to be of clear glass and harmless). With such aid many of his new pupils make rapid progress and get much joy in their achievements. These spectacles are given Mr. Corbin by the Association of Charities of Washington, D. C., and are, he remarks in one report, in great demand. Between April 6 and April 29 Mr. Corbin reported boarding among the people in another community, visiting historic spots, encouraging farmers' meetings and exhibits for fairs, studying old ballads and arranging music for them to be submitted to publishers, furnishing music for rallies, urging the screening of the cabins for the sake of the babies, and conferring with two county superintendents on agriculture in high schools.

A very different type of worker, but equally valuable to the state, is revealed in the reports of Miss Pearl Justice, of Johnston County. Her report for September 29 to October 24 contains such items as these: "I have gone into all the homes and have given each person a personal invitation to come to school. Have tried to interest them in home problems—especially those that they were deficient in." The next month she again reports visiting in all the homes, enlisting co-operation of the best citizens in efforts to get every illiterate en-

rolled, holding public spelling contests, and taking part in the various activities of the community in every way possible. Again she reports visiting in every home, assisting in the organization of a Sunday school, helping the mothers in various ways, and she says: "Each illiterate has had an earnest personal invitation by friends and neighbors to attend school."

Some significant factors of this problem were brought to light through an investigation conducted by a private individual in March, 1920, to determine what is being done by the educational agencies of the state to eliminate illiteracy. A letter was sent to each of the hundred county superintendents of public instruction asking for specific information as to what each had done and what he was planning for the future. Forty replies were received—a revelation in itself of one of Miss Kelly's greatest handicaps, indifference and unbusiness-like office management on the part of county superintendents. For it would seem that replies would have been made by all interested in the work. Of the forty who replied, only one spoke unsympathetically of the work. He wrote: "We pushed this work four years ago, had about two hundred enrolled all over the county, worked the teachers to exhaustion, got a few men and women to sign their names, which they have since forgotten how to do. We have isolated schools going on about all of the time, but to little success. I am not pushing the work." From another county came a letter showing exactly the opposite attitude. "When he (the county organizer employed) has finished his first round he follows up the work he began with the first group, giving them further help and showing them how it is possible for them to help themselves. . . . We do hope to follow up the work that has already been done until something really effective has been accomplished." With Hamlet, one would say, "Look here upon this picture, and on this."

There were all possible gradations of interest, effort, and achievement between the two extremes. Some of the letters indicated that their writers are concrete thinkers who organize what they undertake in a definite way and can stand and deliver specific information when called upon so to do. Others, however, with every asseveration of interest and approval of the

movement, made only vague and incomplete replies to inquiries as to what they had done, what success they had attained, and what plans they had for the future. A thoughtful consideration of this exhibit leads to the conclusion that the elimination of illiteracy would be hastened by eliminating from the offices of county superintendents all incumbents except enlightened educators. After all of the very specific suggestions of methods sent out from Miss Kelly's office, one superintendent wrote: "We have no plans and would appreciate help." Another said: "I have no plans. If you have any, I will be glad to help." It is assuredly not to such leaders as this that the state can look with confidence for a victorious conclusion of the illiteracy fight.

But among these letters are many of the most encouraging nature; even some of those that are vague contain earnest acknowledgments of the importance of the work and desire to get hold of it. Some of them are such as to fill the heart of a patriotic reader with joy that North Carolina has among her public servants such men. For example: "I haven't done much. I have no stenographer, no farm demonstrator, no club agent, no assistance at all—and have to do all this work myself. You can understand that some things have to be left undone. I realize that this is a matter which should receive special attention and I have called attention to it." Another runs: "My work is so crowded I have no time for it. I am attempting to fill two positions, County Superintendent of Schools and County Superintendent of Public Welfare. I have no office help. I feel there should be some one appointed for this special work."

One rather depressing phase of the investigation is the evidence that the "Moonlight Schools" movement which began so auspiciously in 1914 in North Carolina was allowed to follow the course of a fad, a wave of hysteria; practically every social agency in the state coöperated in it with remarkable results for a season,—and then sat back as though the machinery might be kept going by its own momentum. To be sure, the effects of the World War early began to make themselves felt in the very elements of society most concerned in the illiteracy campaign; the extra demands on labor and on teachers forced suspension of much of the illiteracy work.

Then just when conditions seemed to favor resumption of it,—when the whole country had been alarmed by the illiteracy statistics as secured in the draft, when North Carolinians were told by investigators that in reality at least one-third of the adult white population of the state are illiterates,¹ when it seemed as if the forces that had been directed into war activities were available for the proposed drive against illiteracy,—in this stage of affairs came two paralyzing influenza epidemics which threw into confusion the entire educational system. On account of all these conditions much of what had been gained by the excellent work of 1914 was lost, and in most counties fresh beginnings were necessary.

But the past has afforded some valuable lessons from which much profit may be derived in renewed attacks on the problem. Some of the handicaps, the pitfalls, the blind alleys, are known. One after another of the superintendents emphasized that success can not be attained unless the teacher has a somewhat exceptional personality. Tact, perseverance, good humor, good health, versatility, are essential. The sensitiveness of the class from which the pupils come is mentioned repeatedly in the letters of the superintendents; and so is the difficulty of securing and then holding their interest. "Most of our adult illiterates are abnormal people," says one. "This is a rather difficult phase of education. I confess I do not know how to make it succeed," is another comment; one pronounces it "the most difficult part of our educational work."

A frequently emphasized point is the importance of placing such work in the hands of one person who shall devote to it all of his or her time. In several counties this plan has been tried, and results have proved its wisdom. Two outstanding examples are Johnston and Polk counties. The superintendent of Johnston says: "We have a whole-time woman conducting the community schools in Johnston County. She has had remarkable success in these schools. In several districts she has made an average attendance of thirty-five adults for the month. So far she has been able to earn on the basis of attendance around \$120 per month. We propose to keep this

¹ Accepting as a working definition of an illiterate: "One more than fourteen years old who cannot read intelligently, write a readable letter, or use figures in solving simple every-day problems."

woman the year round at work in Johnston County. We shall doubtless put on another woman next year. We propose to have this teacher train any other teachers who undertake this work in the county. She seems to be well adapted to this kind of work. We also conduct community schools in five colored school districts. One of the teachers is doing good work. We are planning to continue our drive for the elimination of adult illiterates in Johnston County. We have in mind not only teaching adults how to read and write, but to make better citizens out of them; particularly to make each of these men and women better school parents and thereby stop the production of adult illiterates."

The superintendent in Polk County writes: "We have tried several plans, but I think the best one has been the securing of a tactful man to organize small classes in the homes of the community. This man spends one month in one community, then passes on to another, spending a month in this community. He has four such organizations in the county in one year. When he has finished his first round he follows up the work he began with the first group, giving them further help and showing them how it is possible for them to help themselves. In this way we have been enabled in the nearly three years we have been doing this kind of work to practically cover the county, and quite a great deal has been accomplished."

It is natural for human interest to focus on superlatives, and so some very bad and some very excellent examples have been cited. Excellent work has been done in many parts of the state besides Polk and Johnston. One teacher writes from Transylvania with reference to his teaching of adult illiterates: "I do not think there is anything a person can do that will bring so much pleasure. I am a poor letter writer, but I could talk all the time on this work." The county superintendent of Forsyth writes very optimistically of the work there and mentions the helpful coöperation of the Young Men's Christian Association in the towns. In Asheville a capable woman has volunteered her services as county director and is doing excellent things in the way of securing books and pictures and enlisting the aid of the Daughters of

the American Revolution, as well as making careful surveys of the city of Asheville and Buncombe County. In many of the mill districts the manufacturers have provided half of the teachers' salaries and all the running expenses and have encouraged their operatives to take advantage of the evening classes so provided. A number of reports from both white and colored schools state that the students themselves have paid the portion of the expense which by law must come from local sources. Several of the superintendents reported that appropriations had been made and schools arranged for when either influenza or the shortage of teachers checked all action.

"We will fight it out along this line if it takes all summer," was once said. "We expect to keep it up for ten years if it is necessary," says Miss Kelly. "It is our determination that by 1930 the census shall show that illiteracy in North Carolina has reached the vanishing point." Undaunted by difficulties Miss Kelly is planning for the summer of 1920 the most aggressive blow yet delivered. Hers is the spirit that ensures success.

Some Relations Between Soil, Climate and Civilization in the Southern Red Hills of Alabama

ROLAND M. HARPER,
Geological Survey of Alabama.

In the coastal plain of the southeastern United States there is a belt of country extending from South Carolina to Mississippi, with a maximum width of about fifty miles, characterized by red loamy hills superficially like those of the Piedmont region farther inland, but differing from that in having less rock and more swamp, and contrasting strongly with the more level and sandy regions nearer the coast. The geological strata throughout are of Eocene age (early Tertiary), with several subdivisions cropping out in longitudinal belts.

In South Carolina and Georgia the southern red-hill belt is separated from the piedmont by the fall-line sand-hills, averaging about ten miles wide, while in Alabama and Mississippi there are several distinct types of country between the red hills of the coastal plain and the rocky highlands, the best known of which is the black prairie belt. The eastern end of the red hills is ill-defined, but may be placed approximately at Laurinburg, N. C. Westward from there the belt includes Statesburg and Orangeburg, S. C., Waynesboro, Louisville, Sandersville, Jeffersonville, Fort Valley, Richland and Cuthbert, Ga., Abbeville, Ozark, Troy, Enterprise, Greenville, and Thomasville, Ala. In Mississippi it curves northward, past Meridian and Oxford, and fades or tapers out near the Tennessee line.

In its length of nearly a thousand miles this belt naturally exhibits some variations. Generally speaking, it is more sandy eastward and more clayey westward, with corresponding differences in fertility, and this difference is reflected in the vegetation, the crops, the density and racial composition of the population, and many other features.

In *Science*¹ the writer showed that if for every weather sta-

¹ August 30, 1918.

tion in the United States, or as many of them as practicable, we determine the difference between the rainfall for April, May and June and that for August, September and October, and plot the results on a map, we can make some interesting correlations. Where early summer rain predominates over that of late summer, as is the case nearly throughout the area drained by the Mississippi River and a few of the larger rivers on either side of it, the soils are generally much more fertile than in northern Michigan and Minnesota and near the Atlantic and Gulf coasts, where the warm late summer rains steadily leach out the soluble constituents of the soil and leave the silica and other inert substances. Although the late summer rain area covers less than one-fourth of the United States, probably two or three times as much commercial fertilizer is used there as in the remainder of the country. And even if there were no difference in soil, this seasonal distribution of precipitation would affect the cotton crop, for rain in the late summer and fall interferes with picking; which is doubtless one reason why so little cotton is raised in Florida.

The zero line, or line of equilibrium, where early and late summer rain are equal, crosses the red-hill belt obliquely in Alabama, the South Carolina and Georgia portions of the belt having wet late summers and the Mississippi portion wet early summers. At Pushmataha, near the western edge of the state, the average rainfall from April to June exceeds that from August to October by more than five inches, while at Eufaula, on the eastern edge, the difference is about an inch and a half the other way. The soils vary correspondingly, those of the western portion being evidently more fertile on the whole than those of the eastern.⁸

In the preparation of a statistical report on the resources of southern Alabama⁹ the writer has recently worked out separate ratios for the eastern and western portions of the red

⁸ Some of the differences in soil fertility may indeed be independent of present-day climates, and have originated far back in geological history, when the sandy and marly strata of the coasted plain were being deposited on the sea bottom; or else be due to the fact that southwestern Alabama is traversed by two large rivers that cross the black belt and other rich calcareous regions, while the eastern portion of the red hills is directly south of the piedmont region of granitic rocks, and has very few streams that head in limestone regions. But the climatic factor above mentioned has undoubtedly had a considerable influence.

⁹ Geol. Surv. Ala., Special Report No. 11, July, 1920. (It is being published almost simultaneously with this.)

hills, and obtained in nearly every case just the results that one would expect from the evident differences in soil. The accompanying sketch map shows the geographical or, more strictly speaking, chorographical, relations of the two divisions. A belt fifteen or twenty miles wide at the coastward edge of the western division, sometimes known as the lime hills, which has previously been treated as a separate region⁴ is here combined with it, because the differences are comparatively slight, and also because it lies mostly in the same counties whose census returns are used farther on to illustrate the western red hills, so that the two areas cannot very well be separated statistically.



We have, unfortunately, too few chemical analyses of soils to give a fair estimate of the natural fertility of this region. But soil texture is correlated with fertility—fine soils as a rule being richer than coarse soils—and there are abundant data on this point in the government soil survey reports, which now cover most of the counties in Alabama. From these it can

⁴ See Monograph 8, *Geological Survey of Alabama, and Soil Science*, August, 1917.

be ascertained, by consolidating the estimates of the areas of different soil types, that by texture over half the soil in the western division is classed as fine sandy loam, and next in order are clay, sandy loam, fine sand, gravelly sandy loam, meadow, and silt loam. In the eastern division the order is sandy loam, sand, fine sandy loam, fine sand, loamy sand, meadow, swamp, and coarse sand,—indicating a predominance of sandy soils of moderately coarse texture.

There are some significant differences in topography between the two divisions. The eastern is, generally speaking, an upland region, with broad divides having a maximum altitude of about 600 feet above sea-level, and comparatively narrow and swampy valleys. Farming is chiefly confined to the smooth uplands, and the existing forests to ravines and swamps. The western division is characterized by narrower ridges, many of them rocky, and broader valleys. The highest ridges are probably no more elevated above the sea than the uplands of the eastern division, but on account of being steeper and narrower they stand out more conspicuously, and some of them are known locally as mountains. The valleys are now generally cultivated and the ridges wooded.

A plant census of this region (as of other parts of Alabama) has been made by the writer by traveling through every county two or more times, jotting down the names of the species observed in every mile or other convenient interval, and combining the results. The ten commonest trees of each division at the present time are here arranged in order of abundance in parallel columns for the sake of contrast.

Western Division

Short-leaf (loblolly) pine
Short-leaf pine
Long-leaf pine
Sweet gum
Spruce pine
Magnolia
Beech
Poplar
White oak
Water oak

Eastern Division

Long-leaf pine
Short-leaf (loblolly) pine
Short-leaf pine
Black-jack oak
Red oak
Poplar
Sweet gum
Magnolia
Spruce pine
(Swamp) black gum

It should be borne in mind that the differences in this respect are doubtless less now than they were before the country was settled, for the forests that have been destroyed to make room for crops in the western division are mostly those of fertile valleys and in the eastern division of dry uplands, while trees preferring steep slopes have been spared in both divisions. But the trees that are more abundant westward are almost without exception species characteristic of richer soils. The sweet gum, for one, which ranks fourth in the western division and seventh in the eastern, is believed to be especially partial to soils well supplied with phosphorus. It is interesting to note that in the western division the most abundant oak ranks only ninth in the list, while in the eastern, as in most other parts of the eastern United States, some of the oaks are next to the pines in abundance.

From a directory of Alabama sawmills published by the *Southern Lumberman* in 1912, giving the capacity of each mill in board feet per day, the kinds of wood cut, etc., it appears that 48 mills in the western division had an average daily capacity of 18,480 feet and the 39 in the eastern division only 10,280 feet. A generation or two earlier the eastern mills may have been the larger, but now those in the western division have numerous well-wooded rocky ridges from which to obtain their timber, while in the eastern division the forests being now largely confined to narrow swampy valleys, contain comparatively little valuable timber. According to the same directory 30 of the mills in the western division were cutting short-leaf pine (including loblolly), 28 long-leaf pine, 19 poplar, 17 white oak (doubtless including one or two related species), 10 red oak (a name used to cover several species), 5 sweet gum, 4 hickory, and 3 cypress. In the eastern division the order is as follows: 36 long-leaf pine, 25 short-leaf (including loblolly) pine, 19 poplar, 4 white oak, 4 hickory, 4 ash, and 3 sweet gum.⁵

The differences in soil are also faithfully reflected in population and agriculture, as will now be shown by statistics computed chiefly from census returns by counties. Statistics of population for Alabama go back to 1820, and of farms to

⁵ Woods cut by less than three mills are omitted here.

1850, but some phases of agriculture appear only in later censuses; for example, the expenditures for fertilizers having been first returned in 1880, the value of farm buildings in 1900, and certain data for white and colored farmers separately only in 1910.⁶

The statistics of the western division are based on the counties of Choctaw, Clarke, Monroe, Wilcox and Butler, and those of the eastern on Crenshaw, Coffee, Dale and Henry. The belt includes considerable parts of several other counties, which extend so far into other regions that to use them to typify the red hills would impair the accuracy of the results—for most census data as published are based on the county as the smallest unit. Changes in county boundaries in former decades introduce a little difficulty, but that has been allowed for in the calculations as far as possible.

In the following tables the density of population is given for each census since 1820, except that of 1870, which was not very accurate in the South on account of the chaotic conditions then prevailing. The percentage of whites and the extent of farm land, size of farms, etc., are given for thirty-year intervals, and several other kinds of statistics only for 1910. Incidentally these tables will serve to illustrate a few of the many kinds of useful information buried in census reports and elsewhere and going to waste, as it were, for lack of persons sufficiently interested to dig them out and put them together by natural regions, instead of merely using state averages as is commonly done. Some of the significant features of the tables will be discussed farther on.

⁶The most complete summary of census data relating to negroes is a special report of 844 quarto pages on the Negro population of the United States, 1790-1915, published by the Census Bureau late in 1918. Some additional data for 1900 are included in the "Supplementary Analysis" volume of the Twelfth Census.

TABLE 1. POPULATION.

	West	East
1820.....	4.7	1.1
1830.....	7.8	5.2
1840.....	10.2	7.0
1850.....	11.5	7.3
Inhabitants per square mile.....	17.2	12.5
1860.....	21.2	17.4
1880.....	23.1	23.6
1900.....	27.1	33.2
1910.....	28.9	37.9
Percentage of whites.....	63.1	76.2
1820.....	47.3	83.2
1850.....	38.9	74.9
1880.....	37.0	68.0
Percentage illiterate in population over 10 years old, 1910:	White	7.6
	Negro	44.2
	Total	30.3
		13.1
		39.8
		21.2

TABLE 2. AGRICULTURE, 1850-1910.

	West	East
Percentage of land in farms.....	1850..... 36.0	16.1
	1880..... 56.5	54.5
	1910..... 64.0	83.0
Percentage of total area "improved"....	1850..... 9.8	5.9
	1880..... 16.4	14.7
	1910..... 26.0	42.5
Average number of acres per farm....	1850..... 415.0	152.5
	1880..... 133.5	158.0
	1910..... 83.5	89.0
Average improved acres per farm....	1850..... 113.0	56.5
	1880..... 38.7	42.7
	1910..... 33.8	45.2
Average number of slaves per farm...	1850..... 10.8	1.8
	1860..... 11.3	2.7
Percentage of white farmers, 1910	37.0	72.3
Average value of farm land per acre, 1910 (\$)	7.35	9.62
Average value of farm land per farm, 1910	613	850
Average value of buildings per farm	248	272
Average value of implements and machinery	53	63
Average value of livestock, poultry, etc.	223	237
Expenditure for fertilizers per acre of improved land, 1879-80 (\$)	.07	.44
1909-1080	1.45
Value of crops per acre, 1909-10	14.45	16.30

TABLE 3. AGRICULTURE FOR THE TWO RACES SEPARATELY, 1910

	WHITE		NEGRO	
	West	East	West	East
Percentage of farms operated by owners or part owners	64	50	19	16
Average number of acres per farm ...	152.0	98.6	43.0	62.3
Average improved acres per farm ..	46.4	45.8	26.5	43.6
Value of farm land per acre (\$)	6.95	9.45	8.12	10.21
Value of farm land per farm	1057	933	350	636
Value of buildings per farm	468	322	118	141
Value of implements and machinery ..	98	74	26	33
Acres of cotton per farm	13.5	16.9	14.8	21.2
Acres of corn per farm.....	9.7	14.4	5.8	12.4

The leading crops in both divisions in 1909-10 were cotton and corn, but peanuts ranked third in value in the eastern division and only ninth in the western. Since that time, owing mainly to the coming of the boll-weevil to Alabama in 1910, peanuts have replaced cotton to a considerable extent, and may even rank first in the eastern division by this time, though certainly not in the western, where cotton is still "king."⁷

The most significant facts brought out by the foregoing tables and confirmed by evidence from other sources are as follows:

The western division had the densest population at first, on account of its more fertile soil, but the eastern division had the advantage of smoother topography and more easily tilled (because sandier) soil, and when commercial fertilizers became available in sufficient quantities, through the opening up of deposits of potash in Germany, phosphate rock in South Carolina and Florida, and sodium nitrate in Chile, it was able to compete successfully with the western division, which it outstripped in both population and farm land per square mile, about 1889.⁸

In the pioneer days, when many of the inhabitants lived by hunting, fishing, logging, and grazing cattle on open ranges, whites predominated in both divisions; but as soon as possible the forests in the fertile valleys of the western division were cleared away and superseded by large cotton plantations

⁷ The partial substitution of peanuts and hogs for cotton has proved so satisfactory to the farmers of the eastern division (which is now one of the leading peanut sections of the United States) that a monument to the boll-weevil was erected last year in the town of Enterprise, in Coffee County.

⁸ In this connection see *Geographical Review*, vol. 2, pp. 366-1367; *Journal of Geography*, vol. 15, pp. 42-48, 229. 1916-17.

worked by slave labor, and negroes have been in the majority there since about 1845. As in many other parts of the United States, the more fertile lands had rather inferior drinking water and were formerly more or less malarial, which conditions negroes could endure better than whites.

In ante-bellum days the contrast in size of farms between the two divisions was quite marked, large plantations never having developed to any considerable extent on the poorer soils eastward. But in later years the farmers of the eastern division have become the more progressive, a circumstance closely correlated with the more rapid growth of population there, and the mingling of new settlers from other states and sections. The average value of all farm property, per farm and per acre, the expenditure for fertilizers, and the value of crops per acre of improved land, are all higher eastward. But if we consider the two races separately we discover some curious facts, which modify the foregoing statements considerably.

In the western division in 1910 the average white farmer cultivated nearly twice as much land as his black neighbor, and had a house worth nearly four times as much; while in the eastern division, where negroes are decidedly in the minority, the amount of land cultivated by the two races, per farm, was nearly equal, and the ratio of building values only a little over two to one.⁹ Statistics of illiteracy show a similar tendency, and those for per capita wealth, if such were available, doubtless would likewise. This relation is too universal throughout the South, wherever there is any considerable proportion of negroes, to be ascribed to chance or injustice; and it seems to be a fundamental sociological principle not hitherto widely known. If the negroes in predominantly "black" sections were as intelligent and efficient as they are where they are in the minority, or had the same voice in governmental affairs as the

⁹ In Wilcox, the most fertile county in the red hills, which had 81.6% of Negroes in 1910, the average farm building values for the two races were \$770 and \$99, a ratio of nearly eight to one, or about the same as in the black belt. The "poor whites," characteristic of some of the mountainous and sandy parts of the South, are practically non-existent there, and many if not most white farmers live in two-story painted houses. In the more broken sections of the same division, however, the farm-houses are more primitive. For example, in Choctaw, which is probably the most "mountainous" county in southern Alabama (it had no railroad up to about ten years ago), the average white farmer's buildings in 1910 were worth only \$372 (which happens to be just about the state average for that race).

whites, and if those who live most simply were not as a rule the most contented, there would be much more friction between the races than there is, as can easily be imagined.¹⁰ As it is, the social advantages of the black and the white sections of the South are pretty nicely balanced, and should remain so indefinitely if there is not too much outside interference. This will also go a long way toward explaining the different attitude toward the negroes North and South. In the North and West, where they constitute only a small fraction of the population, they may be nearly as efficient as their white neighbors (in most of the northern and western states there is less illiteracy among negroes than among foreign whites), so that there is little ground for prejudice against them.

In both divisions the negro farmer devotes about half his improved land to cotton, while the white man diversifies more. It will be observed that in both (and the same is true in many other parts of the South) the negro's farm land is worth more per acre than the white man's. This, however, is chiefly due to the fact that the white man's farm is usually about half woods, while the negro, being in most cases a tenant, is not likely to rent much land that he cannot cultivate. From the first two lines of Table 3 it can be seen that in both divisions the white farmer cultivates less than half his land, and the negro about two-thirds of his. Similar relations are brought out plainly in the chapter on plantations in the South, in one of the agricultural volumes of the 1910 census.

The census has not given statistics of manufacturing by counties since 1880, or of the kind of power used in each county since 1870; but a few notes on the subject from those censuses may be of interest. In 1870 the western division had about one manufacturing plant, chiefly sawmills, grist mills, blacksmith shops, etc., to twenty square miles, and the eastern one to thirty-three square miles. The principle that water-power does not generally abound in fertile regions holds true even in this limited area, for in the western division 14% of the plants were run by steam and 15% by water-power, and

¹⁰ In this connection see the chapter on Vicksburg, Miss., in Julian Street's book, "American Adventures" (1917), bearing in mind that Vicksburg is in a county that had 70% of its population colored in 1910.

in the eastern $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ by steam and 60% by water-power.¹¹ The utilized water-power amounted to .07 horse-power per square mile in the former and .18 in the latter, notwithstanding the sparser population.

In 1880 the number of manufacturing enterprises was about the same, the number of employees a little less than two apiece in each division, and the average annual wages \$196 in the western division and \$124 in the eastern. Presumably most of the hands were employed at manufacturing only part of the year.

From an alumni catalogue of the University of Alabama, compiled in 1901, it appears that from the founding of the university at Tuscaloosa in 1831 to its interruption in 1865 there came to it from the western division of the red hills 158 students, of whom 24 graduated, while only 13 came from the eastern division, and none of those graduated. From 1870 to 1895 the former was represented by 172 matriculates and 64 graduates, and the latter by 62 matriculates and 32 graduates.

These figures can be variously interpreted. We must bear in mind first that in 1835 there were about twice as many white people in the western division as in the eastern, and the numbers did not become equal until about 1882. The smaller representation of the eastern division at the University in ante-bellum days is doubtless also due partly to the lack of railroads and the difficulty of making a journey of 200 miles or so twice a year by stage or private conveyance; and since the war the Alabama Polytechnic Institute at Auburn, founded in 1872—which teaches many of the same subjects that the University does—being considerably nearer to that division than Tuscaloosa is, may have attracted more students. Not only is the western division nearer to the University in an air line, but before the days of railroads persons living anywhere near the Tombigbee River could reach Tuscaloosa conveniently by steamboat. The difficulties of transportation doubtless also limited the number of students who had the perseverance and the means to go to college three or four years and graduate. For in the ante-bellum period about one-

¹¹ See *Journal of Forestry*, vol. 16, p. 443, 1918.

fourth, and from 1870 to 1895 about one-third, of the students registered from the same region in which Tuscaloosa is situated graduated, and for Tuscaloosa County by itself the ratios are still higher.

But a complete explanation of the differences will probably have to take into consideration the fact that the average white family of the western division was, and is, more prosperous than in the eastern, as already indicated, and thus more likely to send its sons to college. This very fact, however, may have operated to reduce the percentage of graduates, for a boy who goes to college merely to spend his father's money and enjoy society probably has a smaller chance of graduating than one who values an education sufficiently to work for it. The fact that the ratio of graduates to matriculates among students from the fertile black belt—which is considerably nearer to Tuscaloosa than the red hills—is below the state average in both periods seems to bear this out. Although there were no graduates from the eastern division before the war, after the war it was above the state average in that respect.

The political complexion of the two divisions shows some interesting contrasts, which one who had not looked into the matter might not expect. According to the election returns published annually in the *New York World Almanac*, at the presidential election of 1916—which is representative enough of all elections in the last decade or two, since the negroes were practically disfranchised—97% of the vote in the western division was Democratic, while in the eastern division the vote was about 80% Democratic, 19% Republican, and 1% miscellaneous. In this respect the western division is very much like the black belt, and the eastern like several other parts of the state that are below the average in fertility.

The Census Bureau has published the results of a special religious census of the United States made in 1916, giving the membership, etc., of the leading denominations in each county, and separating white and colored churches in the South in most cases. The differences between the two areas under consideration are not very pronounced, for close correlations between soil and religion are hardly to be looked for, but as far as they go they accord pretty well with the differences in civili-

zation and wealth already pointed out. For example, among the whites the Presbyterians and Episcopalians are relatively much more numerous in the western division and Primitive Baptists in the eastern. In both divisions about half the white and two-thirds of the colored church members are Baptists, with Methodists ranking second.

A few remarks on malaria might appropriately be added here. Dr. Eugene A. Smith, in his report on the geology of the coastal plain of Alabama, an unnumbered publication of the Geological Survey of Alabama, issued early in 1895, wrote as follows concerning the "Ridge," a high escarpment in the northwestern portion of Butler County, in the western division of the red hills:

"This part of the county was at one time the center of civilization and culture in Butler County."²² Upon the Ridge were the houses of the planters who cultivated the rich prairie soils of Cedar Creek lying at the foot of it towards the north. At the present time very few white families are to be found here, and the whole section, from long neglect, is badly cut up by gullies, and the once fine houses of early days have fallen into decay and the Ridge now presents a scene of dilapidation painful to behold."

In June, 1919, the writer walked practically the whole length of the ridge in question, parts of which are over a dozen miles from the nearest railroad, with a view of studying present conditions and getting some photographs of the decayed old mansions if they still existed, but almost nothing of that description was to be found. The homes of white farmers were rather few, as expected, but they were nearly all substantial and well painted, and some had garages for one or two automobiles. This puzzled me a little until the planter with whom I spent the night, a well-informed man who had sent several children to college, furnished the explanation. It seems that at the time Dr. Smith wrote of the Ridge, a quarter of a century ago, that fertile section, in spite of its elevation of 100 feet or more above the creek bottoms, was very subject to "chills and fever"; and the white residents were in the habit of spending the summers in a long-leaf pine forest a few miles

²² This might be supplemented now by saying that three out of six graduates and three out of eleven non-graduates at the University of Alabama from Butler County before 1865 were from points on the Ridge, and the remainder nearly all from the county seat.

farther south, where they enjoyed better health,¹³ but some finally gave it up and abandoned their plantations to the negroes.¹³ As is well known, about 1900 it was proved that malaria is transmitted by a certain mosquito that spends three weeks of its life in the "wiggletail" stage, and bites only after sunset, and it can therefore be avoided by the simple expedient of not allowing water to stand near houses more than three weeks at a time, or keeping behind screens at night, or both. Advantage has been taken of this knowledge, with the result that the malaria germ, for lack of access to human hosts, has become almost extinct here and in other formerly unhealthy regions, and white farmers have come in again and repaired and repainted the old mansions and are prospering. This new development began too late to affect the 1910 census materially, but the results of it should show in the racial composition of the population in this year's census.

SUMMARY

The relations here brought out between soil fertility and civilization are believed to hold true practically throughout the cotton belt of the South, if not over a much wider area. Some of them have long been known in a general way, while others are apparent only after statistical analysis. The main general principles illustrated are about as follows:

1. Of two neighboring regions differing in fertility, the richer is likely to be settled first and most thickly, though the other may later surpass it in population density on account of the influence of commercial fertilizers, manufacturing or commerce.
2. The percentage of negroes is roughly proportional to soil fertility, partly because large plantations operated with negro labor developed in fertile regions in ante-bellum days, when farming on a large scale was impracticable on poor soils on account of lack of fertilizers, and partly because many fertile regions are not well provided with water and were formerly malarial; conditions which negroes can endure better than whites.

¹³ In this connection see 6th Ann. Rep. Geol. Surv. (1914), page 288.

3. Where negroes are relatively most numerous there is the greatest contrast between the two races in education, wealth, etc., as shown by the illiteracy percentages, size of farms, value of farm buildings, etc.¹⁴ This is partly because in such regions the whites are chiefly concentrated in towns and cities, leaving the rural negroes isolated to a large extent from the stimulating example of the whites, and partly because where there is an abundance of negro labor the "poor white" class is relatively small, and the average white farmer is one with executive ability, who operates on a comparatively large scale, directing the labor of many negroes and reaping the profits thereof.

4. Where there are no cities close by to stimulate intensive farming the white farmers on the poorer soils generally cultivate fewer acres and use more fertilizer than those on the richer soils, and the resulting greater crop yields often make the price of the poorer land the higher.

¹⁴ Some similar data for Georgia were brought out in an article on the distribution of illiteracy in Georgia, in the *High School Quarterly* (Athens, Ga.) for July, 1919. A review of this by Ellsworth Huntington in the *Geographical Review*, vol. 8, pp. 274-275 (dated "October-November, 1919", and published the latter part of January, 1920) may be more accessible to some readers.

Little Nations

JAMES H. DILLARD,
Charlottesville, Va.

Paradoxical as it sounds, many of us in America still believe that in the Great War we were fighting for the establishment of friendship among all nations of the world, that we were, in the words of the Dublin verses,

Fighting one another for conciliation,

And hating each other for the love of God.

Up to this time nations have been administered on the theory of inevitable contention with fellow-nations. The governments have seemed to believe that the prosperity of each could be promoted only at the expense of some other or others. To use a phrase of John Fiske, "tomahawks and tariffs" has been the motto. It is unthinkable that such internationalism should continue indefinitely.

My purpose in this brief article is to suggest a particular good which may perhaps result from a League of Nations, and to express the thought that no other good would go further towards making amends for the awful sufferings through which the world was dragged. I mean the safety of little nations.

We should realize the fact that the contribution of a nation to civilization need not depend upon its size. Let us incidentally make a brief digression on this interesting question of size. We have become so enamored of mere bigness that a plea for anything not big, whether it be a shop, a school, a town, or a nation may seem to many a sign of unorthodoxy. We have come to marvel at and then to admire the bigness of all kinds of enterprises and institutions and governments, so that we are actually in danger of losing sight of the fact that there may be virtues in little things. The little shop with its individual proprietor may still have attractions and advantages beyond the big department store. The little school with its closer approach of pupil and teacher may still offer better chances of real education than the big institution. The little town with its trees and quietness may be a better place to live in than it will be when grown into the bigness to which it

ambitiously aspires. The virtue of bigness or smallness depends upon the more favorable conditions which one or the other may afford for the satisfaction and welfare of mankind.

The object of all our labor under the sun is the development of the individual man, or rather let us say of all individual men. All creation must bend to this chance for the development of the individual intellect and character and soul. It is to this purpose that all business, all institutions, all governments must bring their service. When big enterprises and big institutions and big governments are more effective for this purpose, then we shall have enterprises and institutions and governments that are big; but if at other times smaller ways are better for the best human needs and satisfaction and activity, then the ways and days of smaller things are not to be despised. The huge manufactories, let us say of furniture, have enabled many to have comforts which the old way of hand-made articles could not supply, but there are still virtues and beauties in the work of the free hand of the individual workman. Little of the free play of hand and mind is to be seen in modern work, but we see it at every turn in the medieval cathedrals, for example, with their charming variations of detail and decoration. Individuality had play even to running over, as we see in caprices like the rose-face of King's College Chapel and the Imp of Lincoln Cathedral. Consider the differences between the workman who stands by a machine to watch and see that it makes the same things over and over according to the pattern and the workman who with exuberant joy or mischief in the midst of his work some four hundred years ago put the face in the center of that marble rose in King's College Chapel. The factory that consists of one man has its virtue.

The mere fact of the physical extent of the government under which men live is one of importance in their development, for one of the factors in the development of man is his being a part of the independent development of his country or section. This is one of the arguments for what is called local self-government, and those of the fathers of our country who contended for the preservation of state-rights in the nation and for county-rights in the states were contending for a great principle not only in politics but in the arts. The

smaller state or nation naturally offers the better field for local development and for the promotion of characteristic traits and customs rather than of borrowed traits and customs. So for individual development it is hard to see how the large size of a country can be of benefit, unless the pride of belonging to something big and powerful may be considered a benefit. It was perhaps occasionally useful, for purpose of protection, to say *civis Romanus sum*, but the actual effect of the big Roman Empire, with all the lack of interference which it professed to practice, was to hamper the spirit of the conquered peoples.

So long as war and opposition prevail among nations, as they have prevailed up to the present time, it is inevitable that nations should seek mere size and power. And it is inevitable that in large nations there should be a tendency toward concentration of power, which brings a consequent lessening of local and individual initiative and development. The tendency is toward assimilation, toward stifling local ways. In dress, in habits, in education, in architecture, in music, in literature, in all the ways that should manifest individual development and interesting variety, the tendency is toward slavish similarity. Local efforts for freedom of development are well-nigh helpless in the face of the domination of some central influence. New York must dominate all the States, London all Britain, Paris all France, and since 1871 Berlin all Germany.

There is one striking particular, familiar to us all, on which it may be worth while to pause a moment to consider the damage done by this centralizing influence. I refer to education. With the remarkable extension of popular education we can see all the more fully the unfortunate effect of the tendency to one type, one standard. How much richer, more interesting and more valuable would be the whole of education if various localities would follow methods of their own. "The strength of England," says a recent writer in *Blackwood's*, "has been that she has had schools and universities of many types. . . . If the ambition of the Board of Education be not checked we shall all be shaped and inspected to a single pattern." Not only in England but elsewhere there is danger that this tendency is producing the uniformity of method which

is death to all that would make for freedom and life. In the United States, for example, hardly in more than one or two places within thirty years has there been any effort for local initiative. There is a surprising aspiration toward a general sameness. The schools of Omaha, Atlanta, and Providence are, as they seem to want to be, quite like the schools in New York or Boston.

This tendency to sameness is a loss. Public education is but one example of the way in which people may lose the richness of local color and the free feeling of individual development by not heeding the fact that the best contribution to the good of the whole on the part of a community, or city, or state, as of an individual, consists in the expression of itself. Individuals and peoples, it cannot be too often said, fulfill their true destiny by being allowed to be true to their real selves, not by being drawn into the imitation of other individuals or peoples. Silesia and Poland, for example, would surely have fulfilled a nobler purpose could they have developed their own characteristics as independent nations, and all the world would have been richer for the free and natural distinctive development of these nations.

The world is surely made infinitely richer in all fine qualities by means of variety in independent development. It does not follow that each locality or small nation left to its own ways would produce great art or ennobling customs. There are other elements involved besides mere freedom, but it is absolutely true that freedom, with the feeling of independence, is the beginning of all the elements that foster distinctive and characteristic development. All small nations have not produced greatness, but it is a remarkable fact that out of a little nation came our religion, and out of a little nation came the greatest art and literature of ancient times. Out of little Tuscany came the greatest art of medieval and renaissance times. It was even in a little England that Shakespeare was born. And all the fineness in literature and music that was transferred to Germany came when there may be said to have been no Germany. Goethe was born in little free Frankfort, Schiller in little Würtemberg, Bach in little Saxe-Weimar,

Beethoven in the little Archbishopric of Cologne, and Wagner in little Saxony.

With the establishment of a League of Nations the free day of little nations may dawn again. A true League of Nations would free them from the fear of oppression and from the need of ambition toward an unnatural bigness. It would make plain the way for all nations to develop their own civilization within, while in outward relations conforming to international coöperation.

Consider the tragedy upon tragedy that has been enacted in grim reality upon the world's stage in the deliberate slaughter of little nations. It is useless to name names, like Silesia or Poland, for the history of the world has been made lurid by the injustice, cruelty, and ruthlessness which have been manifested toward smaller states by their more powerful neighbors. And yet the great nations believed themselves right and did not blush to continue to call themselves Christian, driven as they were by the fear of other neighbors and by the mad belief that international cut-throatism must be an inevitable and perpetual policy. There is no reason for the annexation and unification and centralization for which conquerors and statesmen have worked and of which the peoples have been falsely proud except the security of power and the gain of commerce by force. At the bottom has lain the conception that one nation must thrive by another's loss. The utter rejection of this conception is the prime demand. Then with the removal of the fear of oppression, which a League of Nations should assure, and with the spread of the new thought of friendly internationalism, which a League of Nations would promote, there need be no ambition for mere bigness or overwhelming power. The peoples of the earth, left to independent action in their natural groupings, could develop their natural and individual characteristics in the ways that would most surely honor themselves and enrich the world.

The Case of Holland

J. F. SCHELTEMA,
New Haven, Conn.

Holland's situation in our war of wars was not a pleasant nor an edifying one. Too often to bear repetition, we heard it compared with that of the poor wight placed between the devil and the deep sea. Beset by dangers on all sides, her greatest peril lay, however, in her own attitude towards the issues of the titanic contest. That attitude was determined by her historical evolution or, rather, her decline as a member of the European group of states, which, again, was the result of her national character and temperament. Deficiency in backbone constituted and still constitutes a worse menace than either the devil or the deep sea, for the basis of a country's, especially of a small country's, safety is not only international morality but also, and primarily, morality at home.

Holland's lack of that desideratum, specifically with respect to her colonial administration, is becoming an astonishment, a proverb and a byword among the peoples of the earth, notwithstanding her endeavor to pass it off as evidence of enlightened, perfect statesmanship by means of rose-colored official and semi-official publications. Shirking her duties and responsibilities in the council of nations, she took her downward road by bartering her position as a world power for the exclusive gratification of her commercial instincts on the most lucrative, if not always strictly equitable, lines, and her consequent degeneration has been accelerated by the easy wealth derived from her colonies. Squeezing out of the vast and fertile Dutch East Indies every penny they could yield, without expending anything but hollow promises on the development of their mercilessly exploited resources, she throws away her large opportunities in Asia, too, neglecting her chances of founding a mighty colonial empire which in times of storm and stress might be a strong support for the little kingdom of the Netherlands in Europe.

Instead of working judiciously with such a lofty end in view, the Dutch Government and people go on draining their

Asiatic possessions, varying their methods but never relinquishing their rapacious aims. Cloaking their greed with spurious ethics, they sap the foundations of the economic life of their colonial wards by excessive taxation and forced labor, and ruin them physically and morally with opium for the sake of ever more revenue. Meanwhile Holland's own demoralization assisted her pacific penetration by Germany, which went *crescendo* until the outbreak of the war and still has its innings notwithstanding the events that led up to the Treaty of Versailles. All-embracing German influence affected her colonial as well as her domestic activities. And even though, for instance, her incautious agreement with *Wilhelmstrasse* concerning her use of the German cable system came to lapse, secret clauses and all, owing to Japan's seizure of her Teutonic neighbor's Far Eastern acquisitions, there are plenty of indications that Holland, including her colonies, has not ceased to be a promising field for intrigue directed in Berlin.

For the proposition that her most sagacious move to recover her ancient maritime glory would be a close union with Germany, willing ears were found, notably in the shipping centres which thrive on the profitable traffic by water with the Rhine provinces. Following up this advantage, German professors of history contended that the Low Countries had politically long been and, geographically and ethnographically still were, an essential part of the German Empire. Without German aid they would never have succeeded in gaining their independence from the house of Austria: ergo they belonged rightfully in the German union. We could go on indefinitely citing such arguments, intended to bolster up Germany's claim to the possession of both Holland and Belgium with the mouths of the Rhine, Meuse, and Scheldt, not to mention the rival harbors of Rotterdam and Antwerp, those valuable assets in the yearned-for permanent control over Central Europe from the North Sea to the Propontis, with Asia beyond! The conception of a Middle Empire or coalition, dividing and constraining the western and eastern realms of minor import, has lost nothing of its glamor since it passed from the Caesars to Charlemagne!

When, in the opening years of this century, new aspects of old international problems caused a regrouping of the powers

and forced Europe out of the groove into which Bismarck had led it at the Congress of Berlin, a peaceful settlement of growing differences began to appear more and more unlikely. War came and found Holland unprepared according to the habit of the Dutch, which, as one of their great men wrote in 1670, is such that, if impending troubles and perils are not put clearly before their eyes, they cannot be induced properly to heed their own security. In the dark days of 1914 it was certainly no exaggeration on the part of the Dutch Premier, Cort van der Linden, to speak of severable vulnerable points in Holland's foreign relations. The invasion of Belgium drew attention to her military unpreparedness, to the insufficiency of her aircraft and artillery, in particular to her antiquated coast batteries. True, she had her so-called water lines, but the much-applauded *bon mot* of the President of the Second Chamber of her States General, "let us keep our powder dry and our country wet," did not make up for strange rumors regarding the arrangement for inundation on which the positions of Utrecht and Amsterdam have to rely for their defense. As regards the defense of her colonies, even of Java, the Star Island of the Malay Archipelago, the millions of the natives' money squandered on illusive forts and redoubts emphasize only its scandalous neglect.

With a long seaboard on the West and North, at the mercy of any enterprising navy, and an eastern front at the mercy of a German army of observation, while very soon she had to protect her southern boundary against liberties taken by the troops that were overrunning Belgium, Holland's one desire was to stay out of the fray. Queen Wilhelmina is reported to have declared that she would "rather lose a small slice of her kingdom than risk the whole by participating in the war," a statement entirely inconsistent with the royal lady's spirited character. Yet its currency among foreign correspondents at the Hague well revealed the feeling predominant among her subjects, namely, to put up with anything rather than to fight. Peace they wanted, not necessarily peace with honor but with continued affluence. Degenerated through fatal, soporific, ill-gotten colonial riches, Holland chose to remain passive, a placidly speculating spectator of the tremendous combat for

principles in which her neighbors were bleeding white. Keeping her eye on the main chance, she was well typified by the editor of one of her most widely-read newspapers, mouth-piece of a community grown fat on Rhenish trade, who, improving upon the alleged utterance of his Queen, voiced his sentiment in the matter of taking up arms for the defense of direly-menaced national rights and liberty of action, by cravenly delivering himself of the stale witticism that he would prefer becoming a live German to running the risk of being buried as a dead Hollander.

For all that, the Dutch had to indulge their censorious mood by venting their notions of the merits and demerits of the combatants. Rhetorical criticism has always been dear to the Dutch heart and we should not forget the political reformers and geniuses who seized every opportunity to push themselves to the front, dispensing advice to Russia how Finland must be ruled, to Britain how the Irish problem must be solved, and so around the world, while Holland's shortcomings, both in Europe and Asia, were crying to heaven. Noisy men and women with more ambition than knowledge or common sense, issued absurd, polyglot manifestoes as if to parody the motto flaunted by the faction accidentally on top: We live in times that need deeds, not words. And what did they amount to, those deeds, insisted upon as the self-appointed duty of that momentarily highest authority? They resolved themselves into a timorous shunning of the actual doing of things. Hostile arrogance, overt contempt for the rights of neutrals, downright outrages were met with nothing but the feeblest protests. Even the torpedoing of seven Dutch steamers in a bunch could not stir the Dutch nation to action. On the contrary, the Minister of Foreign Affairs at the Hague received praise for his ability to find satisfaction where none was given. Ardent admirers went into raptures over the dexterous maintenance of the Dutch "equilibrium"—between pretended firmness, we are tempted to add, and a very real knuckling under to German frightfulness. A servile press rejoiced in the Dutch lion, degraded to a porcupine in Napoleonic days, being further metamorphosed into a whining animal of still lower order by a for-

eign policy which surely made the de Witts and Oldenbarneveldts turn in their graves.

To use the simile of a bleating lamb would be an injustice to that unsophisticated creature, for in the sordid Dutch attitude there entered a good deal of guile—guile of the basest sort, commercial guile. The pleasant illusion, though, that the aftermath of the war, no less than the war itself, will continue to profit the country, considered as a purely mercantile concern, may be rudely shattered like the other one, that Holland can go on in the identical fashion, availing herself of the beneficial results of a victorious resistance to militaristic aspirations, without having shared its burdens. Now already her miscalculation becomes apparent. Her economic life is seriously out of gear. Her national debt increases while new taxes are introduced and old taxes raised. Drifting along in her foreign as in her colonial policy, her reluctance to relinquish her indolent ease, even for the sake of preserving a semblance of dignity, has provoked the extravagant Belgian claims regarding her southern frontier. Reducing herself to a negligible quantity in the shaping of her own destiny, she has become an object of ridicule to the native inhabitants of her colonies, more and more estranged from her when the Suez Canal and the Mediterranean, like the route around the Cape of Good Hope, were barred, so that communication with the Dutch East Indies could be maintained only in a precarious fashion via this continent. Although direct intercourse has been re-established, the scorn excited by her undignified condition feeds the unrest spreading among subject peoples whose experience does not tend to make them look forward with delight to a continuance of her selfish guardianship. The display of Turkish flags and the colors of the Prophet by insurrectionary bands in Java and elsewhere leaves no doubt about political wrongs stimulating, as usual, an always latent fanaticism.

A gradual expulsion of Holland from her colonies in an economic sense, which the present trend of affairs seems to prognosticate, may be the prelude to her loss of them altogether, whether the natives rise in concerted rebellion or not, thanks to her mismanagement of her trust, her greedy incapacity to conduct a large colonial business on broad, progres-

sive lines, and her shortsightedness in sacrificing the consolidation of her international position to building a stronghold among the millions and millions of her Asiatic wards, whom she rather considers as so many human cattle, *taillables et corvéables à merci*. Morally deficient, she is in her colonial relations still the robber state between Dollart and Scheldt arraigned by Eduard Douwes Dekker, the gifted author of *Max Havelaar*. True, her methods of colonial depredation have been cunningly modified to meet the requirements of parliamentary fustian when the Dutch East Indian budget comes up for discussion in the States General, but in substance they remained the same: *plus cela change, plus c'est la même chose*. Even now, despite the humiliating lessons of the war, the signs point rather to a continuation than to abandonment of her grinding fiscal policy, which endangers her hold on the source of her opulence and potential greatness, her improvident piratical policy, finely illustrative as it is of Burke's remark that empire and little minds sort ill together.

Dividing the nations of the earth into two bitterly hostile camps, our war of wars emphasized in its initial stages the hazards of colonial tenure, whether founded on the strength of a presumptuous mailed fist or of long-established prescriptive rights. Its culmination in a revision of political boundaries draws the attention of the observant student of international relations in increasing measure to its eastern aspects. Closely connected with sundry problems pertaining to the evolution of the Far East and the impending struggle for the mastery of the Pacific, are the status of the Malay Archipelago and the control of the Sunda Strait, which, being the principal approach to the Gaspar and Karimata Straits, forms a gateway between the Indian Ocean and the China Sea even more important than the Strait of Malacca. The navigation of Sunda Strait—separating the islands of Java and Sumatra—is subject to Holland, whose government of the Dutch East Indies, as regards both her power to oppose foreign invasion and her internal administration, is of the weakest imaginable kind. No wonder, especially in the present circumstances, that strong neighbors, watching their interests in those parts, covet the

possession of an island realm so vast, so fertile and so rich, but so neglected by its administrators.

They find as yet unconscious allies in the native population whose moral and material progress, ostensibly the prime object of the Dutch Government's care, is almost systematically drowned in oceans of ink and buried under mountains of paper. Notwithstanding the loud ethical pretense of scribbling make-believe, greed and sloth remain the characteristic features of Dutch colonial bureaucracy. Talking of principles, Dutch colonial politicians—they cannot be called statesmen—live on flimsy expedients. Not to go farther back than the beginning of this century, the sort of statecraft exhibited by the successive Ministers of the Colonies at the Hague and Governors General at Buitenzorg furnish most telling instances in point. Their action can be best described, with an Irish turn of phrase, as total abstinence of action—except for their sedulous worship of the main chance. Bureaucratic sagacity, staring itself blind on the exorbitant demands of the home treasury, took and takes no notice of the natives' earnest wish for education, their eager though clumsy endeavor to develop their mental capacity and slumbering energies, which, led in the right direction, promise a brilliant future where immense natural resources wait for the able hands of workmen well worthy of their hire whenever their labor is commensurately rewarded. But dull-witted cupidity adheres stubbornly to the time-honored system of extortion, in new forms truly, more refined, more indirect to save appearances, yet no less inexorable and injudicious: the old story of the goose and the golden eggs.

If the claims of a government to respect rest on its fitness for securing the welfare and happiness of the people it governs, what respect is due to the Government of the Dutch East Indies? And what is to be said of the men who abuse their trust while conducting it by evading the law which prohibits their partnership in private enterprise, by feathering their nests against the day of their country's inevitable collapse with the loot obtained from its forsaken wards, the natives they have bound themselves by oath to protect with just and equitable vigilance? One of the effects of this open or, more

commonly, secret participation of ex- and active Cabinet Ministers and Governors General in commercial, industrial and maritime ventures can be seen in the perpetual shifting of officers and officials of all services and grades, with the inevitable result that they are seldom in full touch with the part of the population they live amongst, a predicament particularly injurious to the performance of the delicate task of the Civil Service. A "contrôleur" who, in a couple of years' time has been transferred from work among the Papuas in New Guinea at one end of the Archipelago to develop the resources of the Bataks in Sumatra at the other, and then to the Dayaks in Borneo with the prospect of Celebes next or Banka or the Moluccos, is not over-keen, however zealous he may have proved himself at the outset of his career, to learn the languages and study the manners and customs of new regions into which he is dumped only to be commandeered to still newer environments where such laboriously-acquired knowledge cannot profit him. But this *chassé-croisé* profits the shareholders in railroads and shipping concerns immensely, at the natives' expense, in more senses than one.

Apart from evils of this kind, the manipulation of Dutch East Indian loans as floated, for instance, by the Minister of the Colonies, has not tended to give confidence in the Government's financial dealings. A false patriotism, which rather conceals than seeks to cure the "ulcer that groweth daily more and more," objects to frank discussion of such incidents. Encouraged as it is, if not paid by the ring of colonial freebooters who have lobbyists and press agencies at their beck and call, it hushes up every shady transaction traceable to those Shagpats, alarmed at the possibility of light shining on their ugly baldness, whose hostility to the truth betrays their fear of being exposed. Unfortunate for a kingdom in Europe that tolerates them and their fraudulent manoeuvres, when the natives begin to wake up, chafing under the heavy yoke, and become restive.

The Dutch East Indies, in fact, present a spectacle of growing unrest. From many localities we hear of grave disturbances and actual insurrection. A serious rebellion broke out in Jamby, East Sumatra, spreading to the Rawas in the

Residency Palembang; in Acheh, the whilom independent Sultanate of North Sumatra, still unconquered, at any rate unsubdued after sixty-six years of ravage and abortive pacification, fresh trouble has arisen; the Residency Tapanuly and the Padang Highlands in the same island are seething with sedition; revolts are reported from the Aroe Islands, from the Islands of Flores and Celebes, from the Residencies Rembang and Kediri in the Island of Java. During the earthquakes which preceded the recent eruption of the Kloot, a rumor came drifting from the Principalities of Surakarta and Jogjakarta, the heart of Java, that the Javanese were waiting for a command from heaven, expressed in violent manifestations of their fire-mountains, to drive the Dutch into the sea. Although a certain Minami, a Japanese, was condemned to a year's imprisonment for his propaganda to overthrow Dutch rule, and a certain Keil, of German extraction, since discharged for lack of evidence, was accused of a similar offense, foreign intrigue has little to do with these danger-signals.

Their causes lie nearer home and are, in the main, excessive taxation, aggravated by the intolerable burden of forced labor and such wrongs as are inflicted by the flagitious, officially-conducted and expanded traffic in opium. If not removed, quickly removed, their persistence, despite the bloody quelling of the armed resistance they engender, may reach fruition in a combined effort very difficult to repress. When the natives learn to coöperate, they may give a hard nut to crack to the Dutch colonial army, however fitly trained it be to the business of crushing importunate aspirations, thanks to its continuous employment in expeditions, punitive or otherwise, which, incidentally, swell the dividends of transportation companies patronized *en haut lieu* for that specific purpose. Inasmuch as winged victory flies invariably with the big, well-accoutré battalions, it has been so far but child's play for the soldiers of the Government to vindicate its prerogatives with their field-artillery, machine-guns, dynamite bombs and repeating rifles, versus the primitive weapons, the lances, krisses, *pedangs* (native swords) and *goloks* (choppers) with a chance flintlock, of isolated bands of natives, innocent of the art of strategical and tactical combination.

For the defense of Java against a foreign enemy, supplied with the latest apparatus of modern warfare, the Dutch colonial army is nevertheless altogether insufficient in numbers and equipment, not to mention the deficiencies of an absurdly composite navy, quantitatively and qualitatively still worse situated with respect to its fighting capacity, and the absolute worthlessness of the few antiquated forts and fortifications that, scattered *à la grosse morbleu* along Java's coastline, make a ridiculous show of shielding the island against encroachments and trespass. It is not that the question of defence has never come to the fore. On the contrary, the military prodigy whose occupancy of the viceregal throne marked the commencement of this century, owed his preferment to the highest dignity in the Queen of Holland's gift to the hopes cherished in regard to his proficiency as a second Coehoorn or Vauban—hopes woefully disappointed like those entertained of his coadjutor for finance, who botched *that* issue. And almost every Governor General before and after has made a system of defence his pet hobby, namely his own personal system of defence, rejecting interior projects, revelling in brand-new designs on which he spends incredible large sums, duly charged to the natives, for the satisfaction of seeing them rejected in their turn, the instant his office has expired. So, in rapid succession, innumerable systems of defence have been hatched which hardly ever pass the initial stages of consideration and reconsideration, never the final one of complete execution.

The outbreak of the war surprised in this Sisyphean labor a commission of wise men, experts, some of them having been summoned expressly from Java to the Hague for continued palaver, again at the natives' expense, anent the old controversy whether a numerically strengthened, regenerated colonial army, or a colonial navy, yet to be created, should be the basis of the newest system of defence. While everybody saw the great conflagration threatening, while there was the most pressing need for immediate provision, the expert commission, forgetting that any type of warship for the moment quite up to date will be superseded in at best five or six years, recommended the building of a fleet which they

fondly hoped would in thirty-five years remove all danger of losing the Dutch East Indies. It goes without saying that absolutely nothing has since been done to carry out this able, energetic program. Conformable to precedent, it only preluded the appointment of the next commission to argue the same problem in order to arrive at an equally negative solution, more hopelessly negative, in fact, for now there is talk of reducing the Dutch navy to impotence, in prayerful reliance on the proposed League of Nations' taking Holland under its wing and reserving her colonial predominance, which she has lost the vigor to protect herself, steadily qualifying for the final ignominy of the Dutch colors being lowered over the head of bold and staunch Jan Pieterszoon Coen, whose statue graces the front yard of the "palace" at Batavia as an emblem of Holland's masculine past. Sad ending for a people whose eighty years' struggle, at enormous odds, for religious and political freedom fills one of the most inspiring chapters of history!

The ludicrous character of the solemn farce related above was emphasized by the extraordinary enthusiasm professed by a section of the Dutch press *apropos* of meetings held in several towns of the Dutch East Indies by citizens of Dutch descent, to insist that the defense of that priceless inheritance of the Dutch East India Company should really be attended to. It would appear to the unbiased that such gatherings, avowedly arranged to urge Holland to action in a matter of prime importance, rather than to revel the exuberant attachment to the mother country they were acclaimed for, reflected somewhat sharply on its neglect of plain duty—the more so because they gave rise to anything but loyal demonstrations, notably from the side of a native society, appropriately called the Sarekat Islam. Worse than that was the action of the League of Petty Officers, Sailors and Marines of the Royal Dutch Navy. Invited to take part in the local meeting, its members insolently disregarded their bond of allegiance to the reigning house by proclaiming that the defence of the colonies was none of their concern: in case of war they would fight only if forced to fight! Other instances of misconduct might easily be multiplied. The insubordinate spirit and lack

of discipline among Her Majesty's naval forces are notorious and often breed down-right mutiny, as on board the *Ternate* which, conveying a detachment of blue-jackets destined to bring up to full strength the crews of the sparse Dutch men-of-war in the Malay Archipelago, had to turn back to an intermediate port because of the men's riotous behavior.

Such happenings set a fine example to the native, already dissatisfied and profoundly stirred by the general turbulence of a world out of joint; who is, moreover, not quite so ignorant of Holland's wavering, undignified attitude between the belligerents of yesterday as the average Hollander at home would fain believe. However this may be, the latter's own ignorance of the colonies which constitute the main spring of his prosperity, besides being far less excusable, is perhaps fraught with still greater peril than that of the former's discontent. That ignorance, artfully utilized by those responsible, *inter alia*, for the defenceless condition of those valuable possessions, fancies to have discovered an effective mode of insurance against the aggression of powerful nations, eager for expansion at the cost of Holland's Eastern Empire, in compulsory military service for Europeans, half-castes and natives alike. With regard to the Europeans and half-castes, it makes light of the colonial old-stager's recollection of the grotesque *schutterij*, a sort of militia recruited from the white and mixed strata of the population. With regard to the natives, it superciliously dismisses the objection raised in better-informed quarters, that in their present mood it would be the height of folly to provide them with rifles. The regular native battalions are already considered of doubtful loyalty in certain contingencies; why intensify the risk by arming some ten thousands more of the *orang kechil* ("little men," the populace), who might get it in their heads to compel the fulfilment of the promises they have so long been cozened with. For them it was always *jam tomorrow* but never *jam today*, while they saw the *orang wolanda* (Hollanders) coming on in swarms, swooping down upon their land and despoiling them of their patrimony, to scamper off, without so much as saying thank you when glutted with their good things.

Who in Java does not remember the defiant demeanor of the people of Bantam at the time of the eruption of Krakatoa and, later, the flaming up of their smouldering hate in the massacre of Chilegon? Thinking of these and like experiences, what can one expect of a native militia, proposed as another of those jerky attempts at reform, another of those frantic experiments to which the Dutch East Indies are too often subjected? For a corps of territorials the natives will be very unwilling material, to say the least of it, however much stress an interested clique may lay on the "patriotism"—a strange word in this connection!—shown at the occasion of the meetings just spoken of. What does the native care for the defense of Java, inclusive or exclusive of the rest of the Malay Archipelago, save for his well-founded fear that, as usual, he shall have to foot the bill whether the new scheme is bungled or not? The possibility of a change of masters leaves him cold. He faces it with the apathy born of his pitiable condition. For proof I quote a saying reported by a native correspondent of a Batavia paper as current among the people of Surakarta: "We are simply *barang* (goods) kept in a *tampat*" (receptacle or place wherein anything is kept—here Java, the home of the Javanese). The *barang* has no value, but the *tampat* has. Whoever acquires the *tampat* gets the *barang* into the bargain. It is valueless. Only when the *barang* is prepared in a way which imparts value to it, does it become marketable.

Talking of the native estimate of the situation, it also deserves notice that a prophecy, attributed to Joyoboyo, King of Kediri in Java, some centuries ago, is widely circulated with evident appreciation of its meaning in connection with the recent eruption of the Kloot. When iron wires shall encircle the earth, it foretells, and carriages move without horses, and men are seen flitting through the air, the hour will strike for the Javanese to settle accounts. Western superiority may smile at a childish belief in such predictions, but precisely because the natives are children in many respects, silly talk like that in their secret confabulations can lead, as it frequently has led, to grave happenings. The potential gravity lies in the chafing of the native under Dutch rule and the happy-go-

lucky muddling of the Dutch Government. The time-honored process of ignoring and, if pushed to the wall, denying the real state of affairs; of assuring the public at large by means of doctored colonial reports and no end of official, semi-official, and officially-inspired publications to prove that everything is for the best in the best of worlds, will not do in the long run.

Holland shall have to search herself, soberly and honestly, and to turn over an entirely new leaf, if she wants to retain her position as a colonial power, for that matter as an independent power at all. Her pertinacity in killing the truth, perversely bent on covering up instead of redressing her colonial shortcomings, is apt to kill her. She is being found out. The polite encomiums bestowed upon her colonial administration by complaisant foreigners, satisfied with the pabulum of Dutch East Indian information of the type cunningly prepared for foreign consumption, are gradually overruled by comments in a strain quite different but pertinent. The exigencies of this period of reconstruction force candid publicists to lay flattering affability aside for unceremonious veracity. Permitting ourselves a quotation from a warning by one of them, we recapitulate: "Even the condition of things in the Eastern Archipelago demands immediate attention unless it is to pass beyond remedy."¹

When, in the anxious days before this country entered the war, a late Governor General of the Dutch East Indies addressed the Amsterdam branch of the Dutch "League of Free Liberals" on the eternal subject of colonial defense, in accordance with the paramount article of Dutch political faith that endless discussion of the colonial business fully compensates for its never being despatched, a member of the Second Chamber of the States General, sitting at his feet, summarized his discourse as a statement that the successive colonial administrations had been guilty of criminal neglect. This inference from the lecture just delivered met with hearty applause. Concerning his Excellency's own administration—present company is always excepted. And concerning his plauditory audience—they displayed but their habitual forgetfulness of their

¹ *Holland's Last Chance*, published in the *Fortnightly Review* over the transparent pen-name "Y."

solidarity with the colonial policy concocted between Binnenhof and Plein, and of their duty as voters which, well understood and performed, would soon put an end to colonial practices detrimental to Holland's good name and subversive of her ancient renown and her future national existence. They overlook their plain duty to liberate Netherland's India, if it were only for the mother country's own sake, from the rapacity of a government as hypocritical as impotent—rather the simulacrum of a government, run by quasi-reformers whose state-craft consists in shirking responsibility, whose political life depends on the favor of wire-pulling politicians that batten on the immorality of a vitiated people as maggots on a mouldy cheese.

Organized Applause

THORNTON S. GRAVES,
Trinity College.

Most of us no doubt, perhaps at times when we were not paying adequate attention to matters on the stage, have noticed instances of unusually ostentatious applause on part of certain individuals in the audience; many of us, too, have probably detected heavenward glances suspiciously given by actors and suspiciously followed by minor commotions in the gallery; and some of us have perhaps actually discovered ushers leading the applause. When those of us who are ignorant of modern theatrical subtleties but who are more or less acquainted with certain devices of the early theaters detect such crudities, we should be pardoned if we wonder whether the present generation is being imposed upon by certain survivals of the old *claque* system of encouraging drama, such a system as was organized in the last century by M. Auguste, especially, and described and defended by Dr. Véron, a former manager of the Paris Opera House. And when we consider the elaborateness and efficiency of this system practiced in the playhouse of Dr. Véron—the selection and coaching of *claqueurs*, the disposition of them in the theater, the use of complimentary tickets, the knowledge of psychology displayed in the methods of inciting applause—we are led to wonder whether all this was entirely new in the nineteenth century. Were there *claqueurs* of note before M. Auguste, and had there been systematic attempts at organized applause before he perfected his elaborate system? More specifically, to what extent had the clever Frenchman been anticipated by the early theatrical people in England, either in consequence of their native ingenuity or foreign example?

There are no clear and unmistakable references, so far as I know, to Elizabethan leaders of applause who can favorably be compared to M. Auguste. It almost goes without saying, however, that characters of a similar type were known during a period when applause at a first performance was vital for the success of a play and when a large part of the audience

was, as the dramatist Beaumont puts it, accustomed to look for critical guidance to "the man in black" who frequented the theaters. Allusion after allusion is extant to those would-be dramatic critics who ostentatiously insisted on supervising the damning of plays in good Elizabethan fashion; and as a means of counteracting the effect of such an ordinary practice, the actors and managers of the time, we may rest assured, were capable of inducing sundry men in black to lead the applause in behalf of "a bad poet or vicious actor" as well as in behalf of more commendable representatives of the professions. Perhaps those

"Patrons of Arts, and Pilots of the Stage,
Who guide it (through all tempests) from the rage
Of envious whirl-windes"

appealed to in various prologues of the period included persons other than honest gentlemen and fair-minded critics. At least we know that various dramatists and players had their "ingles," young gentlemen, for the most part, provided with less than average sense but considerable money and a willingness to applaud their idols at the least provocation. That such characters were sometimes considered a valuable aid in insuring the success of a new play is revealed in the second act of *Histriomastix*, a drama which perhaps satirizes the methods of the Company to which Shakspere belonged. The actors are represented as rehearsing a production entitled *The Prodigal Child*. Suddenly one of the players expresses a doubt as to whether the "Lords" will applaud their performance:

Gulch—I, but how if they do not clap their hands?

Posthaste—No matter so they thump us not. Come, come, we poets have the kindest wretches to our ingles.

Belch—Why, what's an ingle, man?

Posthaste—One whose hands are hard as battle doors with clapping at baldness.

Clout—Then we shall have rare ingleing at the prodigal child."

That these "ingles" or "ningles" were sometimes admitted free to the theaters of the period is brought out in Nabbe's *Covent Garden* (I, i), where a character ironically says of the London actors: "They buy not their Ordinary for the Copie of a Prologue; nor insinuate themselves into acquaintance of

an admiring ningle, who for his comeing in (i.e., at the theater), is at the expense of a Tavern Supper, and revises their bawling throats with Canarye."

From the Restoration to the close of the eighteenth century leaders of applause are frequently referred to in England. One of the earliest and most interesting of these is the fat, one-armed friend of the actors, who soon after the Restoration, according to Davenant's *Playhouse to be Let*, led the applause at every play and who, in consequence, was habitually admitted free of charge at the back-door of the theater. Naturally the question may arise as to how such a person could be a sort of *chef de la claque*. One of Davenant's characters thus explains how the one-armed man could clap:

"Troth, the good man makes shift, by laying his
Plump cheek thus—then with such true affection
Does so belabour it."

Much more familiar to modern readers is the boisterous but unerring dictators described in Addison's "Account of the Trunkmaker in the Theatre" (*Spectator*, No. 235), a character who, in the time of Addison, was accustomed to occupy the upper gallery and give vent to his approbation of the play or the acting by vigorous raps with a cudgel or hammer on the adjacent fixtures. This worthy, according to the *Spectator*, was a great friend of the players; and rumors circulated to the effect that he, like M. Auguste, was in the employ of the management. So honest was his applause, however, and so unerring his judgment as to dispel as highly unjust, in the mind of Addison, any such accusation. To what extent Addison's account is based upon actuality it is difficult to say, but it is entirely possible that his dictatorial trunkmaker owes something to the ignorant but haughty shoemaker of Madrid described in *The Ingenius and Diverting Letters of the Lady —'s Travels in Spain* (1691). So absolute was this shoemaker's prerogative to judge drama and regulate applause that theatrical persons sued for his approbation, and audiences at first performances meticulously followed his lead, whether he yawned, laughed, or played on his small whistle to alleviate his anger or weariness.

Among the leaders of dramatic opinion who performed later in the eighteenth century should be mentioned the friend of George Anne Bellamy, a Mr. Chitty, "who was dictator to the pit and therefore ludicrously denominated Mr. Town" and who interfered on various occasions in George Anne's behalf. Not only did he inspire applause in her favor but on one occasion led the hissing of Mrs. Hamilton because she had refused to play in Mrs. Bellamy's benefit performance. Nor should the Scottish dictator—the "daft dominie" familiarly known as "Mad Sinclair"—be neglected, since he bears some similarity to Addison's Trunkmaker. Provided with a special chair in the second row of the gallery and surrounded by his followers, he regulated at will the applause of a considerable part of the Aberdeen audience. And finally, attention should be called to Zephyr in Sir Henry Bate Dudley's *The Dramatic Puffers, A Prelude* (1782), a creature that is worthy to rank with M. Auguste or any other Frenchman, not only on account of his knowledge of human nature but for his invention of a very ingenious "Applauder," that is, "a mechanical improvement on the vulgar art of manucussion; by which one man, with the simple winch of a barrel-organ, shall give more mark'd and judicious applause, than can possibly be derived from any stationary band of hireling clappers." Remarks his friend Breeze on learning of the "Applauder": "Egad that is a happy invention!—but pray, Zephyr, won't it tend in some measure to counteract the *real* plaudits of an impartial audience?" To which Zephyr replies: "Oh, quite the contrary; for as clapping, like gaping, is nothing more than an involuntary accordance of muscular motion, I will engage, my dear Breeze,—barring rheumatic and gouty cases,—to carry every hand on any particular occasion, in unison with my 'Applauder.'"

Sir Henry's satire indicates that the art of regulating applause had developed to a considerable degree of perfection by the time of Garrick's retirement from the stage; and his reference to "hireling clappers" indicates that M. Auguste was by no means the first to purchase approbation by means of the free-list or actual money. The space at my disposal does not permit an exhaustive discussion of the subject; yet a con-

siderable number of representative illustrations will be given to establish the fact that, whereas they may not equal the subtlety of the methods employed by the famous Parisian *chef de la claque*, various devices of "puffing" dramatic performances and "bespeaking" applause enjoy a respectable antiquity in England.

As is well known, the Elizabethans were capable of damning plays by systematic effort. Dramatists frequently refer to plays being condemned before they were actually presented. The method resorted to on such occasions is perhaps indicated pretty clearly in Dekker's *Satiromastix* (I, ii), where Asinus and Horace (i.e., Johnson) are discussing the dramas being composed to satirize the latter. "Me ath stage?" exclaims Horace, "I can bring (& what they quake at) a prepar'd troope of gallants, who, for my sake, shall distaste every unsalted line in their fly-blowne comedies." Asinus adds: "Nay, that's certaine; ile bring 100 gallants of my ranke."

At a time when actors and authors would naturally be inclined to organize applause as a foil to such practices, when the keenest rivalry was manifested among the various London companies, when playwrights were trembling in a manner quite modern for the success of a first performance, when "lay-poets" and courtiers were willing to pay out considerable sums in order to have their dramas adequately acted, when actors had their "ningles," when men like Johnson, at least, were acquainted with the employment of hired *claqueurs* in the Roman theaters, and when the various types of "puff" enumerated much later in Sheridan's *Critic* had had at least their rude beginnings, we may rest assured that more than once during the days of Shakespeare the London theaters were sedulously provided, by questionable devices, with a sufficient number of spectators friendly to the author or the management. Actual evidence is extant indicating that such is true. Jonson and others frequently refer in a general way to the questionable devices which were employed by their contemporaries in order to draw the "rude and beastly claps" of the publicans; and Nabbes in the prologue to his *Covent Garden* (acted 1632) refers very definitely to the practice of authors rallying their friends in behalf of a play:

"He hath no faction in a partial way,
Prepard'd to cry it up and boast the Play,
Swelling your Expectations; hee relies
merely upon your ingenuities."

The prologue to the 1658 edition of Brome's *Covent-Garden Weeded* is apparently a reference to a similar practice:

"He that could never boast, nor seek the way,
To prepare friends to magnifie his Play,
Nor raile at's Auditory for unjust
If they not lik't it, nor was so mistrust—
Ful ever in himself, that he besought
Preapprobation though they lik't it not.

He this night
Your fair and free Attention does invite.
Only he prays no prejudice be sought
By any that before-hand wish it nought."

References to playwrights themselves laboring to inspire applause for their own productions are common after the Restoration. The ingenious Mr. Bayes in *The Rehearsal* (1672), it will be remembered, in order to insure the success of his play had appointed two or three dozen of his friends "to be readie in the Pit," who, he explains, are sure to clap on any occasion, "and so the rest, you know, must follow." The methods of authors like Mr. Bayes are probably glanced at in Mrs. Centlivre's *Love at a Venture* (1706), where one of Would-be's "projects" is the submitting of the following paper for certain acquaintances to sign: "We whose names are here subscrib'd, do promise to make our personal appearance in the side-box, the third day of a new play, either tragedy, comedy, farce, or opera, that shall be written by Timothy Would-be, Esq., and play'd at one of the Houses or both, as the players can agree about that, on forfeit of a guinea, which we have deposited in the hands of the author." Not so solicitous is another "dramatist" of the period. In Samuel Foote's *The Patron*, Sir Thomas has composed a very extravagant production which he fathers on another; and when the latter, as a precaution for insuring its success, volunteers to attend the initial performance and engage all his friends to support the piece, the over-confident Sir Thomas thus rejects the common practice: "That is not my purpose; the piece will

want no such assistance." Fielding's *Eurydice Hissed* (acted 1737) ridicules the play-writer who seeks to insure by bribery the success of his own production. When Pillage approaches Honestus, the conscientious critic, in his efforts to "bespeak" applause, the latter protests as follows against a common practice of the period:

"I rather hope to see the time when none
Shall come prepared to censure or applaud,
But merit always bear the prize.

Curse on this way of carrying things by friends
This bar to merit: by such unjust means,
A play's success, or ill success is known,
And fixed before it has been tried i' th' house"

Naturally when such practices were common various eighteenth century prologues disclaim any effort on the part of the author to regulate applause. Sewell, for example, in his prologue to Mrs. Centlivre's *The Cruel Gift* (1716) writes:

"On Hopes like these her Tragedy depends,
Not on confed'rate Clubs of clapping Friends,
Dispos'd in Parties to support her Cause,
And bully you by Noise, into Applause."

Very similar are the sentiments expressed in the prologue to William Shirley's *Edward, the Black Prince* (1750) and Colley Cibber's epilogue to Philip France's *Eugenia* (1752).

The providing by actors of applause for themselves is, of course, an old and common practice. It is said, for instance, that when Nero undertook to oblige the public with his histrionic talent, the appreciation of this same public was insured by such governmental methods as bribery and the presence of armed soldiers. More humble Roman actors likewise were capable of obtaining "bespoken applause," as is revealed in the prologue to Plautus's *Amphitryon*, where Mercury requests the "conquisitores" to go through the audience and locate, if possible, the suborned applauders of various actors contending for the reward of the aediles. Various references are extant to the "claque" in the Roman theatres, a body of paid applauders who cheered those who paid them and hissed the speeches of rival actors. When Colley Cibbers wrote his *Apology* (published in 1742), the activity of players in "bespeaking" applause

had evidently become common in England, for speaking of Nokes, the comedian, he writes: "He scarce ever made his first entrance in a play but he was received with an involuntary applause, not of hands only, for these may be, and have often been partially prostituted and bespoken; but by a general laughter, which the very sight of him provoked, and nature could not resist." George Anne Bellamy, in enumerating her own virtues somewhat later, says: "Nor did I ever engage persons to applaud me; or pay the doers of the papers to put in puffs to impose upon the public, under the signature of 'Impartial Writers'" (*Apology*, ed. 1785, IV, 138). About the same time Tate Wilkinson describes in his *Memoirs* (Ed. 1791, I, 232) a scene which illustrates how actors might "plant" applauders in the audience and reveals at the same time the chicanery of which theatrical managers of the period were capable. In order to humiliate him, says Wilkinson, Foote and Garrick "planted" persons in the house with instructions to call for him at an inopportune moment and then accused Wilkinson himself of the device. "As for my own part," writes the victim of the trick, "I am clear I was perfectly innocent, not having any knowledge of the town, or by any means, at that time, knowing how to raise a clamour of the kind."

As would naturally be the case, the friends of actors or dramatists were frequently responsible for organizing the applause in behalf of their favorites. Such procedure is of course by no means confined to England; for the admirers of Cardinal Richelieu, to illustrate, packed the theater with a bought audience in order to gratify the Cardinal's vanity on the occasion of the second performance of his *Merâme*. The custom of filling the theater with the author's friends, says Pope, was tried for the first time in England at the initial performance of Ambrose Phillip's *The Distressed Mother* in 1712. Pope is mistaken, however, for it is obvious that the custom was frequently resorted to during the seventeenth century. Thomas Durfey in the prologue to Lacy's *Sir Hercules Buffoon* (1684), for example, addresses the "scribbling fops" as follows:

"We know

If you would write us plays, they'd (i.e., poets) lose their ends,
 Kind parties still would make your pains amends;
 For there's no fop but has a world of friends,
 Who will like city whigs help one another,
 And every noisy fool cry up his brother."

Frequently, too, the "party zeal" of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries explains the necessity of the friends of an author being compelled to organize in order to overcome the organized opposition of another faction.* As early as 1664 Etheredge evidently refers to this "party zeal" in the prologue to his *Love in a Tub*:

"For such our fortune is, this barren age,
 That faction now, not wit, supports the stage."

It will also be remembered in this connection that Shadwell's *The Lancashire Witches*, which appeared in 1682 when party spirit ran high, was saved from being damned largely through the efforts of a strong faction organized to support it. Everyone is familiar with Steele's packing the pit with Ardent Whigs at the first performance of Addison's *Cato* and the lively scene that followed. Well known, too, are some of the scenes that took place in the Dublin Theater during Sheridan's management in consequence of personal animus and party spirit. Numerous must have been the struggles similar to the one thus described by Fielding in his *Eurydice Hissed* (1737), even if they were not so boisterous as the commotion which took place on the third night of Henry Bate's *The Blackmoor Wash'd White* in 1776:

* Instances of such systematic damning of plays are, of course, frequent during the Restoration and the eighteenth century. Just to give a few instances, the practice is referred to in the prologue and epilogue to Shadwell's *The Libertine*. The cabal formed against the actor Smith during the Restoration is familiar, as is Cibber's statement that his own play, *Love in a Riddle*, was killed by the organized effort of his enemies. In portraying English life of the latter half of the eighteenth century Thackeray in his *The Virginians* makes interesting use of a frequent practice, when he explains the failure of George Warrington's pretentious *Ocahontas* on the basis of a faction formed against the handsome Irish actor Hogan. The damning of plays as a pastime by gallants and others is interestingly described in the fourth act of Charles Borden's *The Modish Couple* (1732), a scene which was apparently based upon an actual occurrence.

"'Tis true, at first the pit seemed greatly pleased,
And loud applauses through the benches rung,
But as the plot began to open more,
(A shallow plot) the claps less frequent grew,
Till by degrees a gentle hiss arose:
This by a catcall from the gallery
Was seconded: then followed claps,
And 'twixt long claps and hisses did succeed
A stern contention. Victory hung dubious.
So hangs the conscience, doubtful to determine
When honesty pleads here and there a bribe."

More important in that they approximate more nearly the motives which prompted the devices of M. Auguste and Dr. Véron are the various attempts on the part of the English theatrical managers to regulate applause. In his interesting *Notes on Don Quixot* (1656) Edmund Gayton humorously refers to "An applause obtained like that of a play, most ridiculously penn'd and acted, where the Auditors (who notwithstanding convinced in judgement to the contrary) durst dislike nothing, but give greate plaudits to most things that were to be hiss'd off the stage with the speakers; but the exhibitors of that shew politiquely had placed Whiflers arm'd and link'd through the Hall, that it was the spoyl of a beaver hat, the firing a gown beside many a shrewd bastinado, to looke with a condemning face upon any solaecism, either in action or language" (p. 246). Whether Gayton was exaggerating some special performance it is impossible to say; nor do I know to what extent later "exhibitors" have resorted to this Neronian method of regulating dramatic taste. It is certain, however, that devices somewhat similar to the one above have been sometimes advocated by critics and certain academies; and it is possible that they have occasionally been employed in the various "theoretical" and "experimental" theaters which have sprung up in modern times.

Somewhat more subtle were the tricks practiced by the Restoration managers and their successors. Free admission and actual cash were paid in exchange for applause. In the first act of Davenant's *Playhouse to be Let* (ca. 1663) several actors are represented as having fallen upon hard times, and consequently they take extreme precautions to insure the success of an impending performance. The following dialogué between

the housekeeper and one of the players gives some insight into an interesting plan:

"*Housekeeper*—There is least malice in the upper gallery,
For they continually begin the plaudit.

"*Player*—We'll hire a dozen laundry-maids and there
Disperse 'em, wenches that use to clap linen;
They have tough hands, and will be heard."

That Rich, the well-known manager of the theater in Lincoln's Inn Fields, had profited by this earlier introduction of the rough-handed element into the gallery seems proved by his obvious motive for the unlucky opening, in 1697, of the upper gallery gratis to the servants of gentlemen patrons.

A somewhat similar method of purchasing applause seems to be hinted at in the prologue to John Wilson's *The Projectors* (1665):

"Shall I treat ye then (to applaud)?
A poor inducement, if ye will not do it,
Out of good nature let me bribe ye to it.
Ay!—now ye hearken; but mistake me not,
We give no money back, that were a plot
Upon ourselves."

Perhaps too much emphasis is not to be placed upon "Critic's" remark in *A Comparison Between the Two Stages* (1702), when he says of Congreve's *Love for Love* with which the new theater in Lincoln's Inn Fields was opened: "I allow that play contributed not a little to their reputation and profit; it was the work of a popular author; but that was not all, the town was engag'd in its favours, and in favour of the actors long before the play was acted." More specific is Sneer's reference in Sheridan's *Critic* (1779) to the lavish use of the free-list, which, according to William Shirley and others, was a favorite practice with Garrick: "Yes, but I suppose one shan't be able to get in, for on the first night of a new piece they always fill the house with orders to support it."

Managers were not only eager to insure a sufficient amount of applause for a new play; they were equally interested often-times in preparing adequate demonstration in favor of a new player. Rich, writes Mrs. Bellamy, took every precaution to insure her favorable reception, one of his precautions being

the placing of all his friends in different parts of the house to inspire the entire audience with a proper amount of hand-clapping and encouragement. Similarly Barry when he introduced Miss Nossiter to the Lond audience, says Mrs. Bellamy, "spent his whole income in entertaining his countrymen upon this occasion" and "brought his Hibernian phalanx to support the lady." Equal precautions have been taken in the "bringing out" of more recent "stars."

It is hardly necessary to add that managers, realizing the average actor's passion for applause, have taken it upon themselves to see that even the experienced player has a sufficient amount of incentive to good acting. One instance of this sort of thing is given primarily because it reveals the kindly nature of Tate Wilkinson, manager of the York Theater late in the eighteenth century, and the child-like vanity of the great actor Woodward. The York audience, writes Wilkinson in his *Memoirs* (III, 86), was not lavish in applause on the occasion of Woodward's visit. The old actor was "so hurt," continues the York manager, "that I was under the necessity of calling on all my acquaintances the next day to assure them that Mr. Woodward was so chagrined by their coolness as to reception and expressing admiration, he could not act so well as if on the London, Dublin, or Edinburgh stages. They took the hint, and the next night he acted Bobadil, and the Apprentice, and from the different mode was so surprised and elated, that he sat up till past two, after all his fatigue (aged 57) in the highest of spirits."

Finally, a passage from John Jackson's *History of the Scottish Stage* (1793) may be quoted as showing the manner in which the London managers of the eighteenth century, like the private friends of authors and actors, combated the organized attempts to damn a play or hiss an actor: "If a new play is intended to be run down, a young actor exploded, or any arrangement of the managers is expected to be opposed, from private animosity, partial pique, or particular whim, the friends of the theatre are immediately applied to, and stationed in groups in every part of the house; there joining the plaudits of the unbiased auditors, they openly exert their influences in support of the measure, without ever being deemed culpable

for their interference, or any blame being thrown upon the manager for seeking their support." Jackson, it may be added, states that he does not approve of such action and that accordingly his Scottish theater was free from such tactics.

It does not fall within the limits of the present paper to enumerate the various measures—legitimate and otherwise—which our early theatrical people have adopted to insure the success of their performances—the "puff direct," the "puff preliminary," the "puff collusive," etc., by means of newspapers and coffee-houses; nor is it desirable to discuss the early nineteenth century period of "puffing and plenty of tickets," which reached its climax, perhaps, during Charles Kemble's management of Covent Garden Theater when some 11,000 orders were issued at that house alone between May 17, 1824, and July 12 of the same year. The illustrations given above are more than sufficient to establish the fact that the organization of applause is a venerable and widespread device. They are sufficient, too, to enable the modern reader to realize the essential truth of the words by Sir Thomas in Samuel Foote's *The Patron*, who, when he hears the first indications of the dismal failure of his *Robinsue Crusoe*, refuses to grasp the situation and conceitedly remarks: "Oh, attentive, I reckon. Ay, attention! that is the true, solid, substantial applause. All else may be purchased; hands move as they are bid; but when the audience is hushed still, afraid of losing a word, then—."

Compared with the subtlety of M. Auguste the early devices mentioned above may seem crude and inefficient indeed; possibly they may seem even more so to those who are minutely acquainted with the practices of the modern stage, but surely they are no more naïve than those present-day attempts at regulating applause which the average play-goer sometimes suspects that he has detected.

Advantages of Coöperative Education

EZEKIEL J. LONDOW

Federal Board for Vocational Education.

What industrial education is and why it is necessary are not academic questions today. The money which has been appropriated out of public funds in the interest of occupational training is sufficient evidence of the practical stage reached in a discussion once confined to theorists. The American public is now concerned with the plan which presents the greatest feasibility and advantage for putting into effect convictions in the matter of education. In this paper an attempt will be made to discuss the arguments favoring the coöperative type of vocational education. Its advantages will be treated as affecting industry, education, and society.

Professor Park, of the University of Cincinnati, where the coöperative plan in university instruction received its first American trial in 1906, defines it as "the coordination of theoretical and practical training in a progressive educational program."¹ A clear conception of the system will follow a study of the methods prevailing in Cincinnati and in Fitchburg, Mass. There the student spends part of his time in school under instruction and part of his time as a paid employee in some branch or industry. The "coöp" of the University of Cincinnati spends two weeks in the shop, then two weeks in college; in Fitchburg alternate weeks in high school; in Cincinnati, five hours a week in public school. While details vary as to the nature of the agreement between parents and employees as to the pay of students and as to the program of studies, the important elements are the actual engagement in industrial occupation on the one hand and instruction in class-room subjects on the other.

What benefits accrue to industry from coöperative education? One of the striking features of modern industrial practice is the gradual disappearance of the apprentice. Provision for instruction for a trade in the trade itself has been growing since the Middle Ages more and more rare, while the

¹ Bulletin U. S. Bureau of Education, 1916, No. 37.

demand has been increasing for trained craftsmen. Gone forever seems to be that interesting relationship between master mechanic and student, wherein the apprentice was taught everything about his future calling and was permitted, in sympathetic coöperation, to share in the occupational experience of his employer. Until recently in this country, trade training has been left entirely to the barren combination of chance and the inexperience of youth. In Massachusetts a study of working children showed how those with little education shifted from one industry to another in the hope that by frequent change relief might be obtained from the monotony of grinding routine on one particular kind of machine.⁸

Under the division of labor it is to the employer's interest to keep his workers steadily at tasks which can be performed quickly. But neither the uninterrupted occupation with one small phase of industrial process nor the change from one line of industry to another leads to a proper knowledge of the trade as a whole. Young workers are found in the iron industry who do not know the difference between cast and wrought iron. Limited as the opportunities for development become, the employee grows discontented, his interest in his work lags, and he succumbs more easily to fatigue. Lack of a healthy attitude and the tendency to quit add to the employer's burdens growing out of the problems of turnover. Professor Sumner H. Schlichter in *The Turnover of Factory Labor* discusses the value of instruction of the new worker in relation to the attitude of the employee toward his task and his employer. Such education, he believes, is beneficial because (1) it convinces the worker that the employer is interested in him; (2) it mitigates fatigue and the difficulties due to ignorance; (3) it increases earning capacity and thereby reduces discontent and arouses interest and ambition; (4) it discovers fitness for trade.

Again, those whose education has been prolonged even in technical schools are not suitable subjects for apprenticeship. Craft skill is more easily acquired in early youth. The young man must start at apprentice wages because he is practically

⁸ Special Report on the Need and Importance of Part-Time Education (Mass.) 1913.

unskilled and unpracticed, but his small pay leads to discontent. He feels he is prepared for responsible positions, whereas he is qualified to hold only the lowest. It is not easy for him to adapt himself to his new environments, there being but few about him, possibly, who are college men.

On this point the following testimony was given before the Society for the Promotion of Engineering Education by Mr. Charles Gingrich of the Cincinnati Milling Machine Company: "A man who has put in four years of his young manhood getting a university education cannot get the shop atmosphere even if he does don overalls and work as a regular hand. Such men have passed beyond the age at which boys freely ask questions and learn quickly all those little details which are such an important part of the training and experience of shop men. They feel they do not want to be laughed at."⁸

Such difficulties are removed when the student in his early youth goes into occupational work. After several years of experience with these youthful student-employees, Superintendent Dyer, of the public schools of Cincinnati, was able to furnish the following interesting comment: "The employers and foremen say there is no loss of output by the boys' being out one half-day a week. They more than make up for the absence by their diligence and zeal when they are at work. When the boys start school they are as a rule depressed, indifferent, disgruntled. They look upon their employer as an aristocrat, their foreman as a slave driver, their machine as a treadmill, and the world at large is against them. Their faces are frozen in a perpetual grouch. The path to advancement seems long and uncertain. As they feel mind and body settling in a groove, they become rebellious and ready to quit.

"The school comes as a new interest in their lives. They can scarcely realize at first that anybody cares, but soon they thaw out and a new light shines in their eyes. They see for the first time the purpose of instruction which bored them in school days. They have a motive, they can put their knowledge to use. They become interested and intellectually awakened. Their attitude changes toward their employer, their

⁸ Bulletin U. S. Bureau of Education, 1916, No. 37, p. 12.

foreman, their machine, the world. They are no longer mere hands, cubs, operatives; they are becoming masters of an honorable craft. As they are induced to go from one shop to another, they have been known to make it a condition that they be permitted to attend the continuation school."⁴

In view of such experience, the opinion of the Massachusetts Commission, that the coöperative plan of part-time schooling provides a substitute for the apprentice, seems justified.

In studying the needs of industry and watching the effects of new methods educators have become impressed with the pedagogical values of an occupational education. Those who are active in technical education have long had to contend with complaints coming from business men that the graduates of our schools are woefully out of touch with the realities of industry, that they are unpractical and unskilled in the technique of production. Valuable as all the work done in school may be, some of the courses, it must be admitted, are but poor preparation for the duties of business. Theoretical description can never take the place of actual contact by the senses.

Because of the criticism of engineering graduates without practical knowledge, and in order to determine the prevailing practices in the work of professional engineers, Professor Schneider, of the University of Cincinnati, conceived the necessity of introducing a young man while a student to the working conditions of industrial life. He was familiar with the inadequacy of the instruction given in the so-called practical courses of school and college. It was found that however extensive the equipment of the school shop may be, it can never equal in completeness or up-to-dateness the machinery, tools, and instruments employed in the engineering trades. The producer must keep up with the progress of inventions in his contest for profits, but the educational plant cannot afford to install every new type of mechanism for the benefit of scholars. Even where excellent school shops are possible workmanship therein is far different from that fostered in industry. The contrast is strikingly pointed out by Professor Leake, the Canadian authority on vocational education:

⁴ *School Review*, vol. 19, pp. 293, 294.

"There is all the difference in the world between a school where boys and girls are making things for themselves and a workshop where they are being made for others and the general market. In the schools as at present organized the boy is able to please himself, to choose largely what he shall make, how he shall make it, how much time he shall spend doing it, and what kind of material he shall use. In the shop the work must be done on time, the orders of others must be obeyed, articles made and work done regardless of personal whims and fancies, and the greatest economy exercised in the use of material."⁸ Shop men find that even boys who have had manual training are wasteful of both time and materials. Training in plants creates a realization of the costs of production and leads to a sense of responsibility that cannot always be imparted in the classroom, regardless of the enthusiasm or ability of the teacher.

Aside from the physical impossibility of creating a shop atmosphere in the laboratory and classroom, there is the detachment of the school from life due frequently to the incapacity of the teacher of industrial arts. In many cases the instructor has had little trade experience; frequently he is brought from another city where different types of business prevail. These difficulties do not exist under the coöperative plan. Skilled foremen direct the work of student-employees. The instruction is not only "alive"; it is truthful and craftsmanlike. Furthermore, the "coöp" grows familiar with the industry of his own community, the place where he will probably do his life work.

Returning to the classroom from contact with production, the student comes to the lectures and books not only refreshed but with an inquisitive mind. He has seen things which demand an explanation. The value of theory thus becomes justified for him. Such has been the observation of teachers in the institutions where the coöperative system is practiced. Instruction consequently has been improved. Less time need be devoted to descriptive courses and more time is found for theory. Subjects in general are taught more and more in direct relationship to the needs of life. School and shop are

⁸ Leake, *Industrial Education* pp. 83, 84.

made to dovetail. Even the members of the faculty have learned to work together in their joint effort to prepare their charges for occupation and citizenship. Out of this desire for harmonious instruction has developed a distinctive type of teacher, the "coördinator," whose duties, as the designation suggests, are to fit together the student's efforts in and out of school.

Such beneficial effects in educational efficiency are not surprising. A wellspring of creative interest has been uncovered and that is no less an inspiration than the life-career motive. An impelling force it is in a human being, this desire to be somebody and to do something. It is because of this interest, as President Eliot of Harvard so forcefully contended before the National Educational Association, that so much more work is done in professional and commercial schools than in academic institutions. Employment for which a lad receives remuneration at work which he finds he can do increasingly better and to which he may devote his energies throughout life, stimulates him to apply himself steadily to his tasks. His tools and his books have an intelligible bearing on his livelihood and on his future. He sees the importance of study and values the rewards of diligence; he thus finds himself.

And finding out what one is fit for is no easy matter. The waste due to the time and energy and happiness lost by men in their struggles to get into permanent life work is appalling. Coördination between shop and school makes it possible to determine in many cases what the capacities of children are, with the result that misdirection is prevented and proper direction given. Boys who imagine themselves successful engineers merely because they can tinker with electric batteries or are good in geometry, find out at the lathe or on the steam-shovel how limited are their technical gifts. Others, to whom study is drudgery, catch visions of their true worth as soon as they are placed amid whirring motors or sent afield with transit and level.

Interesting and profitable work keeps the boy in school. The large number of young men and women who are not under instruction is a commentary on our failure to adjust our education to individual talents and to the needs of society. We

are beginning to see that one of the reasons why we are not educating people is that our program is built in hard and fast moulds for all children as if they all had one type of mind. Not all the failures in school are failures in life, but many children are terribly handicapped in their future battles because their stay in school was so short. Perhaps as many as four-fifths of our children do not reach secondary schools. Of the children investigated by the Massachusetts Commission, only 3.9% had gone beyond grammar grades, and 71% of the young employees between 14 and 17 had started working at about 14 years of age. Professor Leake attributes their early departure from school to

- (a) The belief of parents that further education is of no material benefit.
- (b) Necessity for earning to eke out the family income.
- (c) Restlessness and lack of interest.

A mere glance at these causes reveals how curative co-operative education must be. The youth becomes interested in his school life when he finds it a means of self expression and discovers in work an outlet for his energy. It is a satisfaction to know that upon graduation he will be prepared to accept a responsible position and will not have to start at the beginning. The parent can have no objection to continuation of the child in school when he sees him placed on the road to economic independence. Even in his student days he is no longer a burden, as he is being paid apprentice wages.

Increase in the earning capacity of boys who have enjoyed technical training is a matter which will interest hesitating parents. From the Massachusetts report it appears that at the end of four working years boys with one year's industrial schooling to their credit earned more than those who had gone without such education. Likewise, the earnings of a boy who had spent four years in a technical school were found after twelve years of employment to be one and one-half times the earnings of his untrained friend. These facts argue for the value of any method of technical education. For the co-operative plan there is the additional argument as to the time gained in occupational progress while in student days, so that

upon graduation from school the student is prepared, as his brother of the day school is not, for a responsible position.

The contrast this system offers to evening school is even more marked. Experience with night classes has not been very favorable. Close mental application after a day of toil and during hours which should be devoted particularly to recreation is hardly to be expected of adolescents and to a still less degree of those energetic boys who love action more than books. Yet it is this very type that is especially lacking in education and needs the direction of the teacher.

Too much cannot be said in favor of any proposition which holds out the promise of keeping more of our children in school and prolonging their stay under the beneficial influence of the teacher's thought and inspiration. We Americans still have faith that the school is the hope of democracy. The permanence of our institutions depends upon a citizenship imbued with social ideals and trained to love truth and pursue it. Co-operative education does not aim at technical efficiency alone. No sensible man would argue against the importance of mechanical skill and progress. Even the Soviet Government, it is stated, has had forced upon it the value of efficient production. Mere technical training might be brought about through industrial shops and coöperation schools. But an education which results in making a livelihood the sole ambition of childhood would not be received because it would not deserve the support of the American people. It is not the function of our public school system to become a feeder for the factories. What we need is education for citizenship. Starting with the hypothesis that to be a good citizen a man must be able to earn a living and do his work well, the proponent of coöperative education insists that the workers of the world must not only be trained for efficient labor, but must also be given an opportunity of understanding the society in which they live and of catching a gleam of the civilization they are helping to build. For this reason there are courses in coöperative schools devoted to English, Civics, and Economics,—subjects which must widen the horizons of men.

Little does one understand the grave problems confronting the world today, if he fails to appreciate the part education

must play in their solution. With the rapid growth of the power of the masses, the safety of organized society calls for a corresponding rise of understanding, sympathy, and devotion to truth. No scheme of industrial peace can hope to operate without leaders possessing these spiritual qualities. In the hope of taking care of that majority of children from whom the leadership of the workers of the world must come, co-operative education makes its appeal to the wisdom of America.

The Drama—After the War

ARCHIBALD HENDERSON,
University of North Carolina.

The Great War put an end to many things only superficially associated with Germany's ambition for a place in the sun, England's will to world-supremacy, France's desire for the "Lost Provinces," and America's determination to make the world safe for democracy. In the drama, in particular, the world-conflict gives the effect of putting an end to a movement which seemed to be in full swing in 1914. In our thinking, in the mood in which we approach the drama today, we feel the need for making a new beginning—for dating drama from a new fixed date in history, that of the signing of the Armistice.

The movement which Ibsen inaugurated and which formed its culminating point in Ibsen also, has spent itself; and the more recent school of modern comedy—with Shaw and Brieux as most conspicuous examples—seems a bit stale and insipid after the colossal events and cosmic passions through which we have so recently passed. Individual destinies have been dwarfed by national destinies; brilliant wit and radical epigram have lost much of their savor in face of the high seriousness of war's stern tests; and dramas of middle class society dwindle in face of the stupendous drama of the Marne, the Meuse, and the Argonne.

From the standpoint of America, the idea of making today a true beginning in drama has much to recommend it. There is noticeable nowadays in this country an interest in our dramatic beginnings, an absorbed preoccupation in the study of what this country has already accomplished in the drama, which augurs well for the future. A considerable number of the earlier American dramas which are milestones along the rather uninteresting pathway of our dramatic history have recently been brought once more to national attention through the appearance of scholarly and ably edited editions. And now Mr. Arthur Hornblow, for nineteen years editor of *The Theatre Magazine*, has made an important and per-

manently valuable contribution in his extended work "*A History of the Theatre in America*."¹ This work—which covers the history of the theatre in America from the earliest beginnings down to the present time—entirely displaces such partial and incomplete studies as the more or less valuable and useful works of Dunlap, Seilhames, and Ireland. It was not possible for Mr. Hornblow to make detailed studies of the theatre and of the drama, as they developed in close association with each other, in the leading theatrical centres of the country—Charleston, Philadelphia, New Orleans, New York, and Boston—nor to draw the elaborate background of social and literary interests, such as was to be found, for example, in Wilmington, North Carolina, or in Williamsburg, Virginia. The field was too large, the territory too extensive. But he has sketched for us, in vivid outline, the main features of the theatrical landscape and indicated, incidentally, many new lines of research which beckon to the investigator and the would-be historian of more specialized areas and themes. Perhaps the most conspicuous feature of Mr. Hornblow's work is the variety and range of the written and printed materials upon which he has drawn—histories of the theatre, memoirs and biographies of actors, early and forgotten notices in obscure newspapers, and all that great wealth of theatre *éphéméra* in which lie buried, until thus resurrected, quaint, unique, and forgotten features of the checkered and kaleidoscopic picture of our native theatre and drama.

In striking contrast to this solid and, it must be admitted, at times somewhat heavy recapitulation of the main currents of our theatic history, stand two recent works of that sprightly and irreverent critic of our contemporary theatre and drama, Mr. George Jean Nathan.² Like that other brilliant critic of affairs American in art, literature, theatre, and drama, H. L. Mencken, Mr. Nathan represents the current reaction against the academic in criticism now in full swing in this country. To Mr. Nathan, nothing is so ire-provoking as the alleged criticism of the drama solemnly purveyed by

¹ Two volumes. J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia and London, 1919.

² *The Popular Theatre* and *Comedians All*. A. A. Knopf, New York; 1918 and 1919.

the dry-as-dust professor of dramatic literature in the American college and university. Here we have in full flower Broadway versus Evanston, Illinois; the Great White Way versus the tall timber of Cincinnati and Minneapolis; the freedom and diversity of European dramatic taste versus the conscientious, yet amateurish tentatives of the Drama League of America. But it must be admitted that Mr. Nathan is nothing if not impartial in the lavish distribution of his critical thwackings. The vacuities of Forty-second Street, New York, the varieties of American cosmopolitanism, and the cheapness of American initiativeness come in for their share, as well, of the dextrously administered, irreverently delivered blows of Mr. Nathan's slap-stick. I confess to an almost unholy joy in reading the pert irreverences of this Pierrot of dramatic criticism. For the tinkling of the bells on the cap of this dramatic jester furnish only the gay accompaniment to a criticism that, for all its prankishness and light *bavardage*, is essentially pertinent, shrewd, and thought-provoking. The dull, the turgid, the academic, the rule-of thumb in dramatic criticism—they are the bane of his existence. Upon them he shoots out a perfect shower of coruscating sparks which not only scintillate, but burn wherever they fall. But for the sincere student of the drama, for the honest experimentalist who thinks of dramatic criticism and playmaking as a great and thrilling adventure in creative literature, Mr. Nathan has the ready word of downright, albeit humorous, approbation—so slangy, so contemporaneous, so iconoclastic—yet withal so shrewd, caustically kindly, so antiseptically sane.

As an antidote to Mr. Nathan, one should turn for a time to the felicitously expressed, solidly constructed, structurally sound dramatic criticism of Professor Brander Matthews, of Columbia University.³ For his illustrations Professor Matthews ransacks the entire kingdom of world-drama—from Aristotle to Brunetière, from Aeschylus to Ibsen, from Molière to Maeterlinck, from Sheridan to Gillette. It is the quintessence of the urbane—“polite literature” in the best

³ “The Principles of Playmaking.” Charles Scribner’s Sons, New York. 1919.

sense—apt in quotation, fertile in allusion, rich in background. Above all, it is marked by a sureness of step and a scarcity in appraisal, which impart a note of assurance and authority to the carefully reasoned judgments. Professor Matthews deliberately eschews the facile witticism and the pungent epigram, which so often leave on deposit but a half-truth. But his graceful essays are marked by a vivacity of expression and a rich patina of personal reminiscence which impart to them dignity, finish, and authority. In this volume he is at his best—a volume which deals, in addition to the principles of playmaking, with such arresting subjects as: On putting literature into the drama, Shakesperean stage traditions, the pleasant land of Scribia, Hamlet without Hamlet, the playwright and the player, the simplification of scenery, the conventions of the music-drama, the vocabulary of the show business, Matthew Arnold and the theatre, and some vivid memories of Edwin Booth.

Typical of recent advance in the American drama, along lines which promise to place us fully abreast of Europe, is the work of Professor B. Roland Lewis, of the University of Utah.⁴ How far in sophistication and, more important still, in dramaturgics, have we come when such a "study in dramatic construction," nearly three hundred pages in length and devoted exclusively to a consideration of the technique of the one-act plays, appears to be demanded by the situation as it is developing here in America! The significance of the volume may be surmised from the interesting set of chapter headings: The care of the one-act play, the dramatist and his audience, the dramatist and his technique, the theme of the one-act play, the plot of the one-act play, the beginning of the one-act play, the middle of the one-act play, the end of the one-act play, dramatic characterization, dramatic dialogue, and stage direction and stage setting. There is a need for such a volume—and that the volume is useful, suggestive, and unique is exhibited in the appendix, which contains an impressive list of contemporary one-act plays, conspicuous among the authors of which are George Middleton, Stuart Walker, Percy Mackaye,

⁴ *The Technique of the One-Act Play.* John W. Luce & Co., Boston. 1918.

Mary Macmillan, and Percival Wilde, to mention a scant few; while conspicuous evidence of the studies in dramatic construction being made in American universities and "little theatres" is afforded by the titles: *Harvard Plays* (the 47 workshop), *Harvard Plays* (The Harvard Dramatic Club), *Wisconsins Plays*, *Utah Plays*, *Provincetown Plays*, *Portmanteau Plays*, and *Washington Square Plays*.

Widespread and almost universal as are the concern and the actual working interest in the drama, I think the present and approaching era in dramatic history bids fair to be known as a period which marked, in an extraordinary way, the rerudescence of interest in the theatre considered as the home, the environment, the setting of drama. Of foreigners the greatest authorities and practical artists in the newly rediscovered profession of stage management are Max Reinhardt and Gordon; in the new manner, in this country Robert Edmund Jones has won enviable repute as a *régisseur*—i. e., chiefly as a designer of costume and creator of aesthetic stage-setting. The name most widely known to the American public—because of conspicuous successes in artistic play production, and for a certain indescribable wizardry of accomplishment in bringing off superlatively well the things that he undertakes—is the name of David Belasco. In the collation of the two names, Gordon Craig and David Belasco—is a piquant and suggestive contrast which might well furnish the theme for extended observation.

The new volume by Gordon Craig⁵ is not another work of genius by the author of *The Art of the Theatre*—for genius never repeats. It is, nevertheless, a valuable and suggestive work—capricious, one-sided, partial, if you will—but none the less instinct, pregnant with creative thinking. The four parts of the book are made up, for the most part, I surmise, from Craig's magazine, *The Mask*, which for years he issued from the Arena Galdom in Florence. How better can I illustrate Mr. Craig's "reaction" to modern stage realism—of which Mr. Belasco is a past master—than by the following quotation:

⁵ "The Theatre—Advancing." Little, Brown & Co. Boston. 1919.

Is Realism illegal? Should it, when carried as far as violence, be prevented by law? Certainly, by all the laws of taste.

"Only the other day the realism of the stage proved again its dangerous power. It is reported that while Desdemona was being strangled during a performance of 'Othello' at a theatre in Lübeck, a man rose in the pit, his face purple with rage, and aimed a revolver at Othello. After he had been disarmed he explained that *he had come to the theatre for the first time in his life*, and was possessed with too chivalrous a spirit to see a woman murdered before his eyes.

The danger is not evident as first sight; it is none the less clearly inferred. The sudden death of a bad actor or two would be nothing to us. On the other hand the slow but deadly influence upon the audience which is exercised by the exhibition of deeds of violence realistically represented is a very decided danger. It is a danger just because it no longer terrifies us as it should do. We are no longer alive to, or convinced of, the horror of it. If we are convinced, we should rise from our seats and endeavor to prevent the violence or revenge the victim.

Imagine the criminal tendencies aroused in Gordon Craig on seeing one of David Belasco's productions. And I dare say he "sees red"—and perhaps many times lurid and flamboyant—on reading the recent work by Mr. Belasco.⁶ In a very definite way Mr. Belasco is a sort of sovereign of the stage; and for many years he has been daily bombarded with interrogating letters, manuscripts of plays, and with visitors in the flesh. The book under consideration actually finds its origin and publication in this state of affairs. For while the earlier chapters were written for the purpose of answering the conventional questions of the letters and visitors, and to explain the reasons for the unsuitability of the manuscript play for production, the later chapters were written to answer the innumerable questions directed at Mr. Belasco as the result of the advance publication of these earlier chapters in *The Ladies Home Journal*. This whole book might properly be entitled *The Case for Belasco*, and though the ideas be conventionally expressed, there is much food for reflection here—especially gracious to the "reflective palate" are they as specimens of originality, novelty, and ingenuity which not a few of Mr. Belasco's most successful productions undoubtely exhibited. The violet reaction of Mr. Belasco against the

⁶ "The Theatre Through its Stage Door." By David Belasco. Edited by Louis V. Defoe. Harper & Bros., New York and London. 1919.

"extreme impressionism" of the school of Max Reinhardt and Gordon Craig is excellently represented in the following passage from the chapter, "Holding the Mirror up to Nature":—

This school of impressionism is avowedly hostile to naturalism—the art of reflecting life and nature in their true and normal aspects, either through the proscenium opening of the theatre or upon the canvas of the painter—and as a lover of nature who sees beauty through normal eyes, and draws all his inspirations from it, I would be unfaithful to my ideals if I did not raise my voice in protest. Its champions argue that impressionism is revolutionizing all existing forms of dramatic production. Let us see. In Germany, where before the war it claimed its greatest number of adherents, where Max Reinhardt, the Berlin producer, is its oracle, it is only casual. Mr. Reinhardt has earned the compliment of inspiring many imitators, but, of the two theatres he directs, one is restricted entirely to dramas produced by established methods, while he devotes the other to his fantastic experiments with impressionistic draperies. Warsaw, Moscow, and St. Petersburg each has had a small "art" theatre given over to these stage experiments. The movement has also claimed a few adherents in Paris, but there it has been a pronounced failure; it has hardly so much as tinged the art of the French stage. London has had its voluble mouthpiece in Gordon Craig, who has accomplished little more than to ventilate his fantastic theories in an inexplicable book, entitled *On the Art of the Theatre*. He certainly has not succeeded in dimming the luster of Sir Henry Irving as a commanding genius among British actors and producers, or Alma Tadema as a genius of the scene designer's brush.

The unquestioned significance of the position occupied by Mr. Belasco in the history of the American stage is fully set forth in the exhaustive biography of him written by the distinguished dramatic critic, the late William Winter.⁷ Upon this posthumous work Mr. William Winter worked practically down to the day of his death; and the work was completed by his son, Mr. Jefferson Winter. No adequate survey of these two bulky volumes, of more than five hundred pages each, can be made in this place. Suffice it to say that they constitute not only a biography of Mr. Belasco but virtually a history of many of the most significant events in the past fifty years. I can do no better than conclude this survey of recent books on the drama and the theatre with the final paragraph of the preface which William Winter penned:

⁷ "The Life of David Belasco." Moffat, Yard & Co. 1918. 2 vols.

"David Belasco is the leading theatrical manager in the United States; the manager from whom it is reasonable to expect that the most of achievement can proceed that will be advantageous to the stage, as an institution, and to the welfare of the Public to which that institution is essential and precious. I have long believed that a truthful, comprehensive, minute narrative of his career—which has been one of much vicissitude and interest—ought to be written now, while he is still living and working, when perhaps it may augment his prosperity, cheer his mind, and stimulate his ambition to undertake new tasks and gain new honors. In that belief I have written this book, not as a panegyric, but as a memoir."

The Importance of the Southern College to American Civilization.*

PAUL SHOREY,
University of Chicago.

It is a pleasure to welcome another worthy southern college to membership in this all-American fraternity, symbolic of all that is finest in the American tradition. I doubt if there was any need of the preaching that preceded the formal presentation of your charter or of the little sermon with which I am now expected to accompany it.

With each visit that I am privileged to pay to the southern colleges I feel more and more strongly that I am returning to the real America. This is no disloyalty to my New England ancestors. There is an abundance of genuine Americanism in the North. But we are scattered, submerged, sometimes, I fear, impotent. Here you are in every sense in the saddle.

But the Americanism of the South is not merely a matter of racial statistics. It is your loyalty to fundamental American principles, and perhaps still more the preservation of your intellectual and spiritual life from contamination (in the comparatively innocent Latin sense of the word)—from contamination with incompatible and for us noxious European cultures. As I am myself a graduate of a German University, you will not misconceive this as an obscurantist apology for self-complacent provincial ignorance of the larger intellectual world. But in the revenges of the whirligig of time and in the mysterious workings of the law of compensation is it not possible that a renewed and conservative progressive South may discover in the purer, saner quality of her Americanism some recompense for the temporary limitations and delayed developments due to old unhappy far-off things that survive only in transfiguring memories?

You did not follow the flights of Emerson and Margaret Fuller in the transcendental ecstasies of their enthusiasm for

* Remarks made by Dr. Paul Shorey, Senator of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, on the occasion of the presentation of the charter to the newly installed chapter at Trinity College, Durham, N. C., March 29, 1919.

what was then the "New Thought"—of Germany. You sat at home with might (in Emerson's phrase) and read Walter Scott and Blackstone, and the British orators, essayists, and poets, and the Bible. You did not enter so rapidly and fully as did the North into the later movement that enabled us to extemporize great universities—Germanized universities. Your culture, or perhaps rather your scholarship, lost something. But it may have gained a compensating immunity from that deep infection with an alien and unassimilable culture which we have yet to cut out like a cancer from our faculties, our scholarship, our encyclopedias, our histories, our text-books. A brilliant and popular professor in a prominent northern college published in 1918, during the war, a text-book of ethics. To bring home to the hearts of American students the beauty of loyalty and the consecration of patriotism she quotes not a Greek, not a Latin, not an English, not an American poet, but a German stanza that concludes

"Gladly we die for the Fatherland,
(Wir bluten gern für's Vaterland)."

I like to believe that this could not happen here.

I like to believe also that you are immune to the still more dangerous infatuation for things Russian that has taken possession of our intellectualist weeklies, our novelists, and has even found expression in the *Atlantic Monthly*. The fate of chaotic Russia was as clearly foreshadowed in its literature as was that of militaristic Germany. Whatever the artistic charms of a few exceptional books, a people who could produce or complacently contemplate its own image in such a literature was headed towards the abyss. And the novelists, the social settlement sentimentalists, the fluent Jewish journalists, and the advanced literary critics who endeavor to Russianize American literature and American sentiment are, as far as in them lies, seeking to lure America into the same pit. They will not succeed.

The America of 1914 had even in its laymen, its clever women, and its hosts of minor writers, resources and reserves of sagacity, logic, enlightened patriotism—yes, and culture that left the German superman gasping in inarticulate im-

potence of unproved affirmation, and made his most cunningly devised propaganda look silly in the double light of common sense and the imaginative reason. And the America of today, if aroused again and tempted too far, will not lack the moral or the physical force to purge and scour hence the Russian poison.

There are many indications that in the coming decades the colleges of the South are to be among the chief springs and reservoirs of an Americanism that will find a more wholesome mean between the extremes of passionate nationalism and sentimental cosmopolitanism than that recommended by the alien journalists of New York,—that they will be the seats of a culture that will establish a juster harmony between the competing ideals of specialized research and dissipating dilettantism than we have yet worked out in our great Germanized graduate schools,—that without sacrificing efficiency or the demands of the new age they will help to lead us back, or forward (it is both), to a truly American, an English, a classical, a humanistic and human, a Christian education.

Among these hopeful signs I count the tone and spirit of such southern collegiate publications as the *SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY*, the *Sewanee Review*, and the *Texas Review*. Even when their articles from the point of view of a purely professional erudition might seem somewhat slight and amateurish, their temper and the dignity and sanity of their intellectual approach are fraught with more promise for the future of American culture and American education than the epigrammatic smartness of the radical weeklies or the ponderous pedantry of too large a proportion of the articles in our technical journals.

And if we are right in any of these hopeful forecasts, it does not mean any selfish, separate and sectional triumph of the solid South, or the domination of any party or class. It will be an advance towards that broader and deeper American unity for which we all pray and which alone can save us and the world. It will be the contribution of the South to the maintenance and refinement of the old American tradition, the Americanization of all our culture keeping pace with but

not thwarting its liberalization, the security of an American democracy of law, order, decency, and the square deal in that greater America of the future to which we all look forward, in which aliens in blood shall no longer be aliens to the spirit of American loyalty, and in which, except in pious and reverent memories, no vestige shall remain of the division of North and South.

BOOK REVIEWS

LIFE OF DANTE ALIGHIERI. By Charles Allen Dinsmore. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1919.—xvii, 306 pp.

Into his widely used *Aids to the Study of Dante* (1903), Dr. Dinsmore put little of his own writing, the volume being largely made up of extracts from well known authorities. He was impelled to undertake the present work, he tells us, by the fact that "no exhaustive Life of Dante has been written on this side of the Atlantic." It may be remarked that Professor Grandgent's *Dante* (Master Spirits of Literature Series, 1916) forms, with his other recent volumes, a more comprehensive treatment of the subject. This does not, however, diminish the usefulness of the new *Life*. Every such book approaches the subject from its own point of view, and helps to increase the number of Dante readers.

Advanced students will not find in the work any new material of importance, or any great originality of treatment. The author accepts without much scrutiny the testimony of others as to the facts, and frequently cites as authorities compilations similar to his own. He has a tendency to quote often, without giving a reference, statements of no particular importance. But when he gives the results of his own long and devoted study of Dante's writings, his observations are noteworthy, his eloquence and enthusiasm admirable.

Aside from its convenient presentation of the accepted facts, the chief value of the book is in its discussion of Dante's psychological development as shown in his writings. "Dante's true life is not to be learned from any facts which the documents record; it is to be found in his own self-revealing books. The personality there made manifest presents a most interesting psychological problem. . . . Outwardly Dante walked in a way that was all humiliation, disillusionment, disaster; inwardly he trod a path to power, vision, and final peace. . . . I have sought to lift the veil from those processes of thought and will by which he won a victory over himself and his misfortunes." Dante emerges from the his-

torical background as an individual figure rather than as representative of his age: "As a man and an artist he was singularly great, but not as a thinker. He was big enough intellectually to comprehend the spirit and thought of the Middle Ages, but not independent and original enough to break through its constraining limits" (p. 295).

The point of view indicated in these quotations is obviously sound, but the literary and philosophical antecedents are less satisfactory treated than the historical background; for instance, in discussing the *Vita Nuova*, Dr. Dinsmore makes this statement (p. 79): "Thereafter his pen, instead of following the models of former poets, kept close to the movements of the dictator love. From this greater faithfulness to nature came the 'sweet new style' The change in his poetic power is further emphasized by the adoption of a 'nuova rima.'" Here we find repeated the unfounded assumption of many commentators on an important passage in *Purgatory* that "the dictator love" is to be identified with "nature," or with natural affection. This ignores the connotations of the word "amore." The meaningless phrase about "nuova rima" is apparently derived from the same passage. A little later Dr. Dinsmore states his belief that while *Vita Nuova* was composed between 1292 and 1295, it did not receive final form until 1300, the date assumed for the action of the *Divina Commedia*; in support of this belief he quotes the argument long ago shown to be false, that the pilgrims mentioned in the *Vita Nuova* were those who went to the Jubilee in 1300. It is possible that the last chapters of the *Vita Nuova* were added some years after the composition of the main portion; but the weight of evidence is against this view. A curious case of inconsistency is found in Dr. Dinsmore's statements about the "pargoletta" of *Purgatory*, xxxi, 59; on page 86 he asserts that she is probably the "lady of the window," while on page 119 he identifies her with the lady called Pietra.

The discussion of the allegory of the first canto of *Inferno* and of its bearing on the chronology of the *Divina Commedia* as a whole, leads to some curious and insecure conclusions (pages 173-184). The chief note in this canto is, as the

author says, a distinctly personal one; and Dante "had too great respect for the facts of experience and too genuine a love for fitting them into a consistent scheme not to make the outline of his moods and adventures as here recounted substantially accurate." This is the correct basis for interpreting the canto; but it does not necessarily follow that the famous three beasts would, if spiritually interpreted, represent Dante's personal sins. The "spiritual interpretation" suggested by Dr. Dinsmore is that the leopard stands for sins of incontinence, the lion for violence, the wolf for avarice. He apparently derived this interpretation from confusing two well known and divergent theories on the subject; at any rate, the present critic has never before encountered it. But, on the ground that these sins do not fit Dante's case, Dr. Dinsmore believes that "the political interpretation of these symbols is preferable." He says nothing as to the source of this political interpretation, but continues: "If the twelve or thirteen hours occupied in fighting the beasts, discoursing with Virgil, and in deciding to follow him, represent years, then Dante informs us that it was some thirteen years after his awakening before he . . . seriously began his mystical journey." A little later he appears to forget the "if," and bases an argument on the assumption as if it were a proved fact: "His prevailing mood had changed during these thirteen years of struggle with the beasts. . . . It was in the year 1313, if I am not mistaken, that Dante definitely outlined his poem."

It need hardly be said that this method of reasoning is hazardous, and that a book of this scope can properly be called "exhaustive" only in a comparative sense: some of the fundamental problems and principles of Dante-scholarship are not even mentioned. Nevertheless, in spite of certain inconsistencies and inaccuracies, the book is in the main a trustworthy guide, interesting to read, and giving a vivid idea of its subject. The concluding chapters, "Qualities and Character," are the most satisfactory part; there the author's sympathetic insight into Dante's psychology results in bringing out many illuminating ideas and suggestions.

KENNETH MCKENZIE.

University of Illinois.

OUR WAR WITH GERMANY. By John Spencer Bassett. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1919.—378 pp.

The average reader who seeks a general knowledge concerning the part of the United States in the Great War is under heavy obligations to Professor Bassett for a timely and attractive study of the subject. It is brief, considering the immensity of the subject, is based upon a wealth of well-organized material, drawn chiefly from newspapers and official reports, is exceedingly readable and interesting, and gives an excellent idea of our contribution to the struggle.

Opening with thoughtful discussions of the early effects of the war in Europe upon the United States, the difficulties of our neutral relations, particularly in respect to trade, with the warring countries, and our peculiar difficulties with Germany, there follows a good analysis of the changes wrought in American ideals by the first two and a half years of the war. Our entrance into the contest is concisely described and the rest of the book is devoted to the story of our actual participation, due attention being paid to our military preparations, involving as they did a complete revolution of our thought as well as of our methods, the organization of our natural resources, a no less revolutionary change, and the war policies of the administration. Three chapters are devoted to military operations in France. One describes the problems of over-seas organization and the development of the American Expeditionary Force; another, the military operations in the Marne salient from May to July of 1918; and the third, the last two months of fighting, covering the St. Mihiel drive, the two phases of the Meuse-Argonne campaign, the collapse in the East and in Germany, and the operations of the American units other than those taking part in the fighting just mentioned. A chapter on naval operations is followed by a discussion of German peace offers and the negotiations culminating in the armistice. A final chapter gives a brief account of the Peace Conference and its problems and the resulting Treaty of Versailles.

The author would be the last person to hold the opinion that his work is definitive in its narrative or analysis. In the preface he makes this comment: "No writer at this time

can expect to produce a completely reliable history of the war. I venture to hope that this book contains the outline facts with reasonable accuracy and that no injustice is done to any person or cause." To the reviewer his hope seems well justified. The book is popular in its appeal, but it has little of the character of the so-called, hastily-written, popular history. It is scholarly and temperate in its treatment of the causes of the war and of mooted questions in the United States and is on the whole accurate in its narration of events. It is an excellent brief discussion of the outlines of the activities of the United States at home and in Europe and, though unburdened with details, it is sufficiently specific for its purposes.

The tone of the book is notably sympathetic towards President Wilson, but lacks any partisanship. In fact, even in this respect it is marked by what the reader feels is a fine restraint. This is particularly true of the part which deals with the opposition to the President at the close of hostilities. Nor is it lacking in other respects, for there are nowhere in the book any exaggerated claims on the subject of who won the war or of our part in general.

A few minor errors, chiefly in dates, have been noted, but they are unimportant. Probably the chief criticism which might be brought against the work is the lack of any extended discussion of the influence of the United States in relation to allied policy and allied morale. But that in no way destroys the impression held after a careful reading that the book has fine values.

J. G. DE ROULHAC HAMILTON.

University of North Carolina.

WOMAN TRIUMPHANT (*LA MAJA DESNUDA*). By Vicente Blasco Ibanez. Translated from the Spanish by Hayward Keniston, with a special introductory note by the author. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, 1920.

This novel is an absorbing psychological study of a fancy which became an obsession, strikingly different from the other works of Blasco Ibanez. It is a picture of the world of artists drawn with consummate skill. The characteristically

brilliant word pictures fall into a more perfect unity of relation to the whole than in the *Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* and *Mare Nostrum*. There are no digressions. The story moves straight from the humble beginnings of the artist Renovales, through his youth, early triumphs, marriage, birth of his only child and mature fame. His wife becomes jealous of his devotion to his art and is forever spying upon him in his studio. Irritable and ill, she finally taunts him in such a way that he decides to give her cause to be jealous and establishes illicit relations with an erratic schoolmate of his wife, who resembles somewhat the Dona Sol of *Blood and Sand*. This high-born "maja" is represented as a leader of the Woman's Rights movement. The author in this commits the inconsistency of making the women who are struggling against the idea of woman as a mere sex being follow the leadership of a being given over to lust.

The death of the wife is the catastrophe which brings out the message of the novel. I quote Ibanez, who, in his introduction to the excellent English translation, expresses the central thought: "Renovales, the hero, is simply the personification of human desire, this poor desire which, in reality, does not know what it wants, eternally fickle and unsatisfied. When we finally obtain what we desire, it does not seem enough. 'More: I want more,' we say. If we lose something that made life unbearable, we immediately wish it back as indispensable to our happiness. Such are we: poor deluded children who cried yesterday for what we scorn today and shall want again tomorrow; poor deluded beings plunging across the span of life on the Icarian wings of caprice."

FREDERICK A. G. COWPER.

WOODROW WILSON AND HIS WORK. By William E. Dodd. Garden City and New York; Doubleday, Page & Co. 1920.—XIV, 369 pp.

Biographies of presidential candidates and of presidents while living have long been a feature of American political literature. How often have they been ephemeral, replete with the spirit of propaganda, and devoid of genuine perspective or instruction! Not so with Professor Dodd's study of President Wilson. It is not designed as a campaign document or

as a piece of propaganda. It is rather an interpretation of recent American history, the unfolding of an epoch, through the biography of him who more than any other one individual has shaped the destiny of his country since 1912. The two factors, the impersonal and the personal, the dominating will of the leader and the underlying economic and political conditions, are excellently balanced; in fact the impression left on the reader is that President Wilson himself has not made history, but that the forces of history have worked themselves out through his instrumentality. Such a treatment of one still living is especially notable. With access to the President himself and members of his official family, how easy to have become eulogistic! Gleaning facts and deducting conclusions from contemporary sources, how tempting to become polemic! How difficult to see one's friends and neighbors impartially! But into none of these pitfalls has the author fallen. On the other hand he has written an impartial story of a great leader and his times, always a distinct achievement in biographical writing.

The two underlying themes in the earlier chapters of the volume are the economic and social transformation of the nation, with a background of sectionalism, which resulted in progressivism, and the development of Mr. Wilson's thought regarding national problems. The vast increase in industrial wealth and its unequal distribution, the resulting influence on political policies, the revolt of the South and the West in 1896, the rôle of Roosevelt who "undertook to ride two horses at the same time,"—these and other factors are admirably traced, and the narrative is supplemented by three excellent maps. Mr. Wilson's reaction to these conditions is viewed as a development from liberalism of the British type to radical American democracy, from the social ideals of "Bagehot and Burke to those of Abraham Lincoln." The turning point in this development of his thought was the well known fight at Princeton over educational reforms; the problem of the college was the same in spirit as that which existed beyond academic walls, and the approach to one determined the approach to the other.

The obstacles which the President faced in the matter of reform are noted and a survey is given of the principal achievements in the first administration under executive leadership. However the details and reactions of these measures are not elaborated at length; nor is the full rôle of the executive in bringing them to pass described; these matters remain for future biographers. More than half of the volume is devoted to foreign affairs. Here, except in the case of Mexico, emphasis is placed on events and their influence on the public rather than on the President's own thought concerning them; for example, the motives which led him to ask for a declaration of war against Germany are not elaborated; was the hope expressed by him that America's entrance into the maelstrom was for the purpose of ending all wars and building a new world order simply a piece of propaganda, or was he committed in advance to the ideal of a league of nations? On the other hand, the course of war politics culminating in the congressional elections of 1918 is admirably treated. The concluding chapters on the treaty negotiations seem almost "inspired." The war ended, we are told, suddenly, before the President's program for the future of world relations was worked out. The results of the elections of 1918 in this country and in England prevented carrying out at Paris the policy of "open covenants openly arrived at." The forces which time and again gave Foch and the European imperialists the upper hand at the council table are described. Yet always Wilson's method was appeal to reason rather than to force, and the use of force through withdrawing credit would have produced results worse even than the triumph of imperialism.

All historical writing is influenced by the convictions of the author. The view of Professor Dodd colors his interpretation of American history and of President Wilson. That view is that the development of industry since 1865 has been as dangerous to national character as was the slave system which existed before 1860. Consequently his treatment of President Wilson is entirely sympathetic, for in him he finds a relationship to the modern crisis potentially the same as the

relationship of Lincoln to the crisis of 1860. Whether this judgment will stand the test of time remains for the future to determine.

W. K. B.

WAR AND LOVE. By Richard Aldington. Boston: The Four Seas Co., 1919, 94 pp.

THE LOVER'S ROSARY. By Brookes More. Boston: The Cornhill Co., 1918, 59 pp.

Mr. Aldington confesses in his foreword that his strictly imagistic poetry in *Images* has somehow failed to hit the mark with most readers, and adds that the present volume is, in intention at least, a book by a common soldier for common soldiers. The news that an imagist poet has turned from precious subtleties to addressing normal intellects should cause great joy among the Phillistines. The common man is coming into his own, as in the days of Homer and Bobby Burns. The poems dealing with war, Mr. Aldington affirms, "represent to some degree the often inarticulate feelings of the civilized man thrust suddenly into these extraordinary and hellish circumstances," and the poetry of love "expresses the soldier's mood." "Out of this turmoil and passion," he tells us in his "Proem," he hopes to gather

"something of repose,
Some intuition of the inalterable gods,
Some Attic gesture."

The poems on war do contain something of repose, but it is to be doubted that the common soldier, could he overcome his common distaste for free verse and polyphonic prose, would appreciate the references to King Eteocles, Goya, Despoina, Basilea, Potnia, Demeter, and maenads, or the making of *hokku* in the trenches. There seems to be just a remnant of the old preciosity. The poems of love contain many things, some of them a bit unusual for print, but not repose. As for the Attic gestures (which the common soldier would probably fail to understand, any way) they are confined to Attic allusions. Undoubtedly, however, Attic gest-

ures could be evoked by reading some of the love poems to Plato, who had queer ideas about the morality of poetry. Attic restraint would be more fitly referred to as the absence of gesture, but it would conspicuously improve some of the poems in the latter part of the book.

The poems of love are frankly licentious. Mr. Aldington's defense that they truly represent the soldier's feelings will hardly justify them. There are many true things that we commonly repress; it is an "Attic gesture" to do so—Aristotle, himself, suggests it. Moreover, while any one who has talked intimately with a few soldiers will grant the truth of Mr. Aldington's lustful reaction, any Y.M.C.A. secretary will testify, and quote soldier-poems to prove—that war also intensifies the emotion of real love in soldiers of another type. The same is true of the soldier's religious ideas; two diametrically opposite results are obtained, both undeniably true. In presenting one of them as representative, Mr. Aldington falls into the common fallacy of the realists.

Some of Mr. Aldington's shorter poems, for example, "April," "Lieder," "Genius Loci," and "Three Little Girls," seem too slight and trivial in their content to warrant expression. There are other poems, like "Vicarious," "Atonement," "Bondage," and "In the Trenches" that show an unmistakably genuine and poetic reaction of the civilized spirit from the senselessness and ineffectiveness of war. Some of the strongest lines in the volume are to be found in

"Have I spoken too much or not enough of love?
Who can tell?
But we who do not drug ourselves with lies
Know, with how deep a pathos, that we have
Only the warmth and beauty of this world
Before the blankness of the unending gloom.
Here for a little while we see the sun
And smell the grapevines on the terraced hills,
And sing and weep, fight, starve, feast, and love
Lips and soft breasts too sweet for innocence.
And in the little glow of mortal life—
Faint as one candle in a large cold room—
We know the clearest light is fed by love,
That when we kiss with life-blood on our lips
Then we are nearest to the dreamed-of gods."

The Lover's Rosary is not one of those books of verse about which reviewers rhapsodize. It is a series of fifty-nine sonnets, connected by an end rhyme device and supposed to be connected in thought, though the latter connection is sometimes allowed to lapse. The first thirty-two sonnets deal with the poet's love; the remainder deal mainly with the problem of future existence, raised by the death of the loved one. The fickleness and beauty of the loved one, together with the doubt of the lover and his conviction that love silences reason and is superior to all doubt, are presented through various images and constitute the main themes of the first group. The second group, using such symbols as the ascetic anchorite, the moth caught in the spider's web, a rainbow, and a lily, raises not too violently the questions of the justice of life and the possibility of a future existence, concluding that immortality is uncertain and that "this Lament" must be the poet's "living monument." The reviewer, with no desire to sneer, could wish that the poet had a surer basis for his immortality. The sonnets express real feeling, but the feeling is faint. One looks for some passion and poignancy in love sonnets, for some depth of feeling in an attack upon the eternal questions to which poets turn in the face of bereavement. There is nothing compelling about these sonnets, no inevitability of emotion or expression. Technique is a matter of unusual importance in so conventional a verse-form as the sonnet; it is therefore to be regarded as a fault that there are occasional lines either excessive or deficient in their quality and that the imagery employed is in most cases too obvious to be suggestive. The poet's emotion seems to be recollected more placidly and in a somewhat more subdued tranquillity than Wordsworth contemplated; nevertheless, to a reader tired of poetic heaven-storming, there is something genuine and moderately restful in it.

N. I. WHITE.

THE NEGRO IN VIRGINIA POLITICS, 1865-1902. By Richard L. Morton, Ph. D. Charlottesville, Va.: The University of Virginia Press, 1919,—199 pp.

This book, we understand from the editorial note, contains the results of studies made by a class led by Dr. Morton as

Phelps-Stokes Fellow in the University of Virginia during 1917-18. "Most of the friction between the races in the South," the author tells us in his preface, "has grown out of the work and teachings of political agitators." Accordingly he has devoted one hundred and twenty pages to the years 1865-1885, and thirty-six to the years 1886-1902, the first constituting the period of the negro's influence in Virginia politics, the latter leading to his virtual elimination. For the first period, the author has digested selected parts of previous monographs, has looked up some of their references and repeated them, sometimes re-arranging or quoting more freely and occasionally adding some contribution of his own. The book, therefore, is not original work but rather a synopsis to which a few original pages are added for the sake of topical completeness.

If the professional propriety of this method be granted, criticism must center upon the author's thesis (quoted above) and his supporting array of facts. That the negro usually followed a boss, that the boss was usually (though not always) wrong in his stand on public issues, and that the drawing of the color line usually followed,—all this, the reviewer thinks, is clearly established. One can not help wondering, however, whether the author means that there was no deeper reason for race friction. And one must regret that the author, if limited in the scope of his enquiry, did not turn his unquestioned ability to a description of the negro leaders and their methods, subjects about which little has been written and the materials for whose study lie in files of newspapers remote from Richmond, and in the recollections of men who will soon be gone.

C. C. PEARSON.

Wake Forest, N. C.

JUDAISM, CHRISTIANITY, MOHAMMEDISM. (History of Religions, Volume II.) By George Foot Moore. (International Theological Library.) New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1919,—552 pp.

This is the second and major volume of Professor Moore's *History of Religions*; the first, which appeared in 1914, covered the religions of China, Japan, Egypt, Babylonia; As-

syria, India, Persia, Greece and Rome. The interval between the appearance of the volumes can be readily explained when we remember the disturbed condition of all forms of publication since 1914.

The uniqueness of Professor Moore's treatment of the history of religions is, as he points out, that one author undertakes to set forth a summary of the underlying historical features of all the great religious systems. While recognizing that such an attempt may cost something in the way of authority and scholarship, Professor Moore points out that it gains for the whole in unity of view, of conception and mode of presentation, affording also an opportunity for a valuable comparative study of the respective faiths. Thus the alternative method of having a number of scholars prepare monographs on individual phases of the subject and combining them in a volume is definitely challenged. For those who desire a handbook which interprets the whole field, rather than a collection of treatises, Professor Moore's method is greatly to be preferred.

The main section of the present volume is taken up with a history of Christianity. Perhaps the chief connecting link with Volume I is the author's thesis that the main philosophic ideas of Christianity are to be found in the later forms of Greek philosophy, especially Neoplatonism. It is therefore advisable to turn to the chapters on the religion of Greece in Volume I before reading the treatment of Christianity. In the thesis itself there is nothing particularly new, as it has been set forth by several other writers, and while it contains elements of truth it does not contain all the truth, nor can Neoplatonism be shown to have been a real forerunner of Christianity or to have possessed sufficient warmth to have generated the fulness of Christianity.

One might be disposed also to feel that the treatment of Christianity is a trifle impersonal. Of the Resurrection, for instance, the writer has only this to say:

"On the arrest of Jesus his disciples fled and made their escape to Galilee. Before long, however, they returned to Jerusalem. They believed that God had brought Jesus to life again and taken him up to heaven whence he would shortly

descend in power and glory. He was Himself the Son of man, of whose imminent coming to judgment he had spoken. Their faith that Jesus was the messiah was thus reestablished and their expectation took a new form. This faith was connected with visions of the risen Master" (p. 117).

The terms employed—"they believed" and "visions"—obviously throw all the burden upon the disciples, and thereby the author excuses himself from giving a judgment upon the historic facts.

Yet in justice to the author, it must be said that he recognizes and states the claim of Christianity to be a "distinct and exclusive religion," as well as the fact that the Pauline conception of faith,—the most distinctive feature of his doctrine of salvation,—"has not antecedent or analogy in Judaism or among Jewish believers in Jesus, and none in the personal religious (mysteries) or philosophies of the time" (p. 127). Yet this mythical conception of faith, because of its unlikeness to the current ideas, "made little impression on early Christian thought."

In general Professor Moore's treatment of Christianity is thorough and discriminating. His judgments of present tendencies, especially the intense opposition of Roman Catholicism to Modernism in all its forms, are well balanced.

The work is well written and attractive in style and arrangement. The two volumes give in a fairly brief compass a good outline of the main historic facts of the world's great religious, and are well worth having.

JAMES CANNON, III.

CLASSICAL STUDIES IN HONOR OF CHARLES FORSTER SMITH. By his Colleagues. University of Wisconsin Studies in Languages and Literature; Number 3: Madison, 1919.

To Professor Smith, who has just completed twenty-five years of service at Madison and who is now proving the truth of Pliny's quoted *Satius est otiosum esse quam nihil agere*, whose literary enthusiasms run the entire gamut from Homer to the newest spark of latent talent dimly flashing in the current college magazine, whose contributions, with his "high science loves and loves of spiderly lace," range from *Thucydides*

to *Reminiscences*, what more appropriate tribute could be paid than this volume of classical studies? It, too, runs the entire gamut from Professor Leonard's dedicatory elegiac, inspired by and worthy the inspiration of the "wielder of the stateliest measure ever moulded by the lips of man," and President Birge's introductory note, candidly avowing and demonstrating that his "department of classics has never permitted science to obscure letters," down to Prof. Westermann's translation from "An Egyptian Farmer," which well nigh *out-gemelluses* Gemellus.

To have inspired such a volume is no mean achievement, and this should be some consolation to Professor Smith, even if his ascent of actual Olympus has been so long deferred by the "unspeakable Hun." The dedicatory poem is ample demonstration that wisdom is justified of her children; the book should be in the hands of every teacher of the classics, especially of Vergil. President Birge here and elsewhere arouses the hope that at Wisconsin the classics will not longer experience the chill *opacam Arcton* but will find their place in the sun, like his hot-house plants. As a clever transition to the other technical papers comes the informal introduction to the study of the "Heracles Myth in Euripides" by Professor Hendrickson, whose interest in the same dates back to Professor Smith's rendition of a first hand translation of Hippolytus, in which "by a magic, whether of understanding or feeling or voice" he brought his hearers to a sense of communion with the ancient bard. "Wherever you were the study of poetry raised its head and revived"—is no fulsome praise nor, if poetry is the truest gauge of the progress of civilization, as is still claimed, can higher tribute be given mortal man.

In this symposium Professor Laird's *symbola* is an effort to arrive at the sources of "Herodotus' Knowledge of Artabazus," and Professor Smiley's, a discussion of "Seneca and the Stoic Theory of Style." Lack of space forbids more than the mere mention also of Professor Fiske's contribution, "The Plain Style of the Scripionic Circle." Professor Anderson gives what seems to me a very satisfactory interpretation of Horace Ode 1, 7, 7, and puts the olive wreath upon the brow

of Pallas herself. Quite in keeping with the enthusiasm generated by Professor Smith for all things worth while, whether ancient or modern, is the article on the "Eternal City" by Grant Showerman, who finds in modern Italian speech—*matre pulchra filia pulchrior*—"the ocean roll of rhythm tho the Forum roar no longer," in "the study of the life and monuments of Rome a study of human culture," and in "Rome the epitome of western civilization." Miss Katherine Allen traces the references to Britain through Roman literature from the time of Julius Caesar to Hadrian.

Miss Annie M. Pittman, despite an introduction that has "an almost living desert sand" and a "tangible brightness," both as inscrutable as Pindar at his worst, has a charming study of this author, which is quite in the vein of the volume and its purpose. But then "nil est ab omni Parte beatum." We denominate Professor Slaughter, no less aptly than he denominates Lucretius, *justum et tenacem propositi virum*, upon the appearance here of his long expected appreciation of this poet of science, a fitting pendant to Dr. Osler's Eulogy on this neglected scientist.

Professor Westermann's translation of one of the Gemellus letters found in Tayum in 1898-99 has already been mentioned. A good picture is then presented of life on a farm in Egypt about the close of the first century A.D.

Lest the harmonious chorus of praising reviewers provoke *Nemesis*, we note some typographical lapses, like *praeceptio* (p. 59) and the fact that the copy presented for review has a duplicated heft and pp. 97 to 160 inclusive are lacking.

EDWARD KIMBROUGH TURNER.

Emory University.

RESCUE: A ROMANCE OF THE SHALLOWS. By Joseph Conrad.
New York and Garden City: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1920.

In *An Outcast of the Islands* Mr. Conrad sets forth the germ of *The Rescue*, for in the second chapter of that book, published in 1896, appears this sentence: "After his [Lingard's] first—and successful—fight with the sea robbers, when he had rescued, as rumour had it, the yacht of some big wig from home, somewhere down Carimata way, his great

popularity began." In enlarging this incident into a full novel, the author has followed the method in which he has always been happiest—that of the reminiscence.

The Rescue has to do with the early career of Captain Tom Lingard, with whose later life we are already acquainted through *An Outcast of the Islands*. It follows the surge of the sea to the backwaters of the earth, which washes up from its inscrutable depths a derelict fate for one who could not reckon the ebb.

Captain Lingard, the same honest, stupid servant of the sea, with the same severity, and the same absurd faith in himself as in the former story, becomes the means by which a Malay prince is to regain his power. But almost at the outset of the affair, just as, all preparations finished, the action is about to commence, a yacht owned by Martin Travers, an Englishman of position and influence, is stranded upon the very spot selected for the struggle. In the country surrounding are the sea robbers. In the harbour is Lingard's brig *Lightning*. Between the two is the yacht, on board which are Mr. Travers, his wife, a Spanish gentleman, d'Alcacer, and a pampered crew. Lingard is immediately beset by the duty of rescuing the yachting party, on the one hand, and the duty he owes to Hassim, the Malay prince, on the other.

The story unfolds the difficulties of accomplishing the former duty because of the colossal misunderstanding of his position on the part of Travers, to begin with; the love of Lingard for Mrs. Travers, who alone realizes the predicament and who gives him her whole-hearted belief; and the inevitable result of these forces linked with the intrigue, the lawlessness, and the blind stupidity of subordinate characters. In the end the yacht sails away with all its party, leaving Lingard overwhelmed by the catastrophe which has stripped him of his reputation as an infallible keeper of promises, and all but stripped of his faith in himself.

The Rescue is redolent of the sea and the men who go down to it in ships. There is Mr. Conrad's love of vivid color, of stirring action that tries men's metal, but more than this there is the character of Mrs. Travers. Never before except in the case of Mrs. Gould in *Nostromo* has he given us a wo-

man not moiled into submissiveness by misfortune, a mere conscript of destiny. Mrs. Travers is none of this. She is alive with the breath of the primitive, although heavily venerated; she is elemental, sincere, and unafraid. In her Mr. Conrad has created his most convincing woman.

The structure of this novel is perhaps not so invisible as it should be for unconscious art; the effect to cause development is sometimes a trifle too palpable. But this and an occasional solecism are blemishes easily overlooked when balanced against the pictorial phrasings, the vivid background, and the delicate character delineation in this the latest Joseph Conrad novel.

GEORGE CARVER.

The University of Iowa.

PORTRAITS OF AMERICAN WOMEN. By Gamaliel Bradford. Boston and New York: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1919.—x, 276 pp.

The name Gamaliel Bradford has come to be synonymous with the highest art of word painting. His sympathetic pen has a way of bringing out all the light and shade, all the flame riot of color, the dark background, very dark if need be, and fusing these elements into a charming whole. His Portraits are as truly alive as the best of brush portraits.

Portraits of American Women as the author points out in the preface, might almost be called "Portraits of New England Women," seven of the eight characters being born in New England and even the eighth, Frances E. Willard, came of sturdy New England stock whose traditions enter into her western rearing. Through the whole series Mr. Bradford weaves against a background of stern local color, the struggle of the New England conscience being the dark curtain that serves to set out beauty of line and color. Beginning with that feminine patriot of large affairs, Abigail Adams, the book includes Sarah Alden Ripley, Mary Lyon, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Margaret Fuller Ossoli, Louisa May Alcott, Frances Willard and Emily Dickinson. The essays are all delightful, whether they portray the "buzz existence" of Mrs. Stowe and Frances Willard or the "quiet self-contained self-filling life"

of Emily Dickinson. In the light of the present wave of feminism the volume is a distinct contribution to the story of the development of American womanhood. If these women achieved what they did when the weight of public opinion was against their chosen activities, what greater achievements should be expected of the women of the present and the future amid the more favorable environment of today?

May the intention of the author to follow up this volume with other portraits of women of other sections be early realized.

B.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., OF THE SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY, PUBLISHED QUARTERLY AT DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

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D. W. NEWSOM, *Treasurer.*

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 14th day of July, 1920.

(My commission expires September 27, 1921.)

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